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ANECDOTES
OF
THE LIFE
OF THE
RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM.
(E. 114.)
AND OF THE
PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF HIS TIME.

WITH
HIS SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT.

[FROM THE YEAR 1736 TO THE YEAR 1778.]

*Sat mihi fas audita loqui.*VIRGIL.

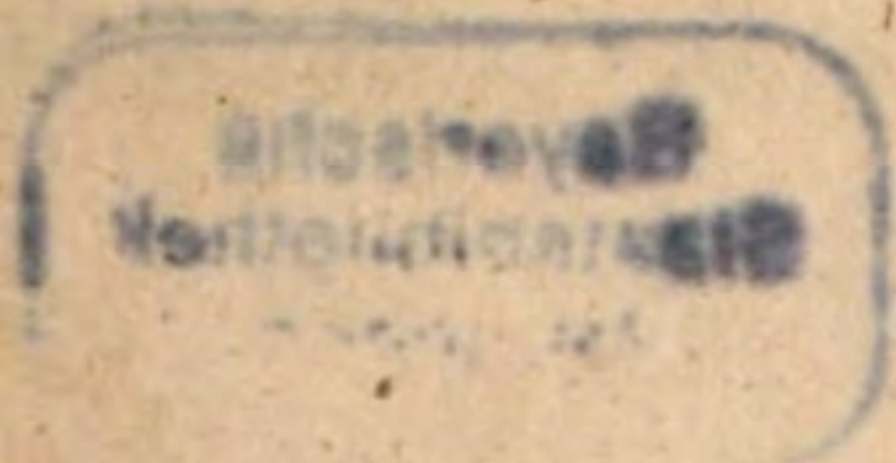
IN THREE VOLUMES.
THE SEVENTH EDITION, CORRECTED.

VOLUME I.

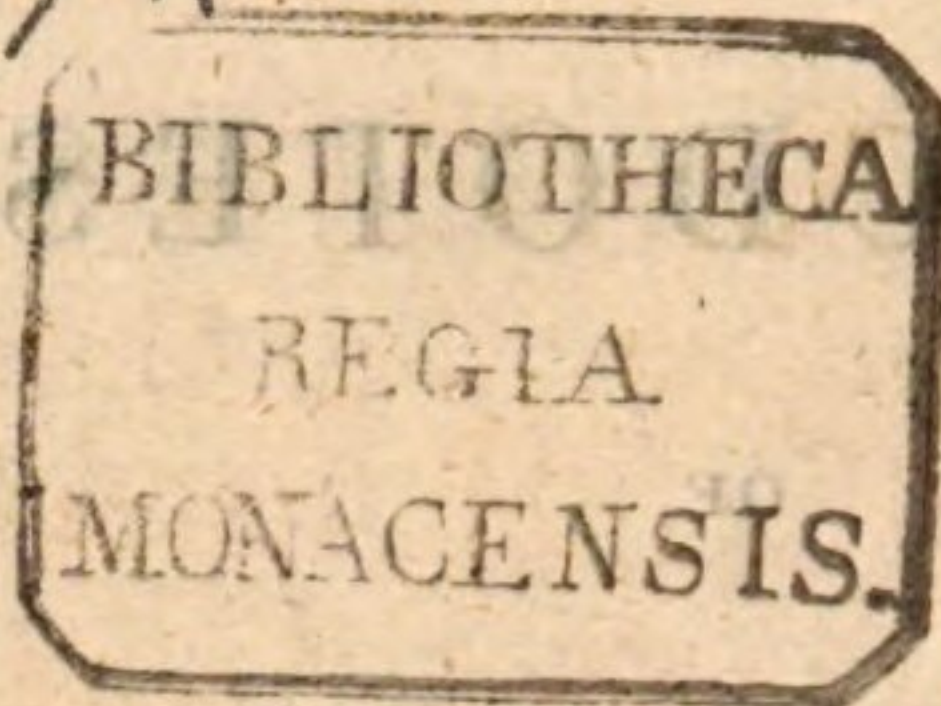
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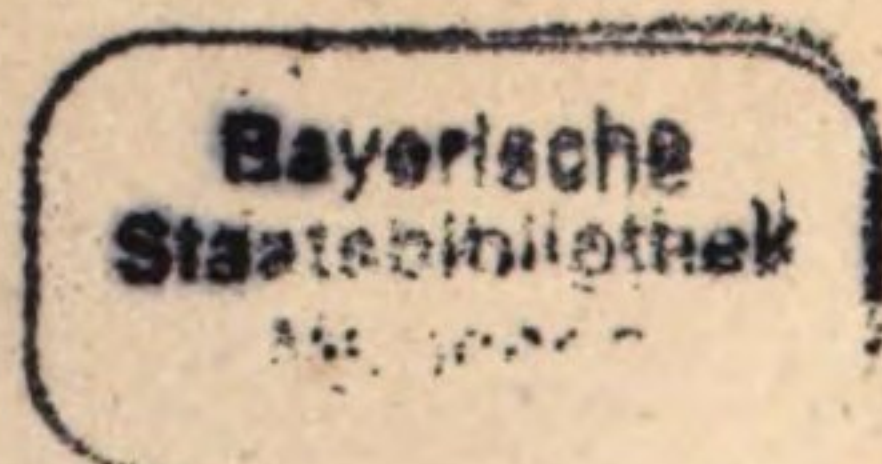
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The following Letter was sent to the Right Honourable the DOWAGER COUNTESS of CHATHAM, with the Copy of the first edition of this Work, in two volumes Quarto.

(COPY.)

—, Herts,
December 5, 1791.

“MADAM,

“I beg your Ladyship’s pardon for trespassing upon your retirement. It is to solicit, Madam, the honour of your acceptance of these Volumes. Although they contain but a weak, yet it is a well-intended effort to do justice to a great and splendid Character.

“From your Ladyship’s noble Brother, the late EARL TEMPLE, I received the most interesting part of these *Anecdotes*; his Lordship honoured me with his friendship and esteem many years. From the first LORD LYTTELTON, the late LORDS FORTESCU, and CARYSFORT, RIGHT HON. W. G. HAMILTON, RIGHT HON. R. RIGBY, GOVERNOR POWNAL, Mr. CALCRAFT, Mr. ROUS, and a number of other Noblemen and Gentlemen, I received the remainder.

“After much labour and expence, I now presume to lay the work before your Ladyship; humbly hoping that it will be honoured with your approbation, and that I may have your Ladyship’s permission to subscribe myself,

“Madam,

“Your most obedient; and

“most humble servant,

LADY CHATHAM'S ANSWER.

(COPY.)

Burton-Pynsent, Dec. 15, 1791.

“ SIR,

“ I have received the obliging present of the books, which you sent to me; the subject of which is so interesting to my feelings. I cannot delay desiring you to accept of my sincere thanks for this mark of your attention. The sentiments expressed by you of the abilities and virtues of my late dear Lord, are a sort of assurance to me, that I shall find his character, and conduct, painted in those colours, that suit the dignity, and wisdom, that belonged to them: the retracing of which, will certainly afford me the highest satisfaction, mixt with the deepest regret, that Myself, his Country, Family, and Friends, have suffered by his death.

“ I remain, Sir,

“ Your obliged and most humble servant,

“ *HESTER CHATHAM.*”

PREFACE.

IF any apology is thought necessary for offering these volumes to the British Nation, it is presumed, that a candid confession of the writer's motive, will not be unfavourably received by those, to whom it is most respectfully submitted.

Had a similar work been executed by any of those persons, who are more capable, and more conversant with the period, and with the conduct of the noble Earl, than the Editor, the attention of the Public would not have been solicited to this humble attempt. It is now almost fourteen years since Lord Chatham's death, and the writer has not heard that any intention to offer a similar work has been in the contemplation of any such person.

Every period in history is interesting: Undoubtedly some periods more than others; and, perhaps, none more than that of these volumes. But truth is so seldom the first object of the

historian of his own times, that it has, for some years past, been a trite observation, amongst persons of information, that nothing is so *false* as Modern History. It should, however, be remembered, that those persons, who are in possession of the best and most authentic materials for history, are usually persons of fashion and rank; and one of these very rarely sits down to the laborious work of writing a volume. Hence arises a principal cause of the complaint. The important facts dying with the persons who were best acquainted with them, the future writer frequently ascribes motives and consequences to events, with which they have not the most distant relation.

The writer has not vanity to offer this Work as a History. He presumes to no more than having collected, and preserved, a fund of materials, which may afford light and information to the future inquirer, who could not have found them in any of the books hitherto printed*. He is conscious, that his style, and

* Except in a few instances; and these are so immediately connected with the subject of the work, they could not with propriety, have been omitted. But the names of the books or pamphlets, from which they are taken, are set down in the margin; and many of these have received considerable additions.

some circumstances, are not in his favour : But he is not conscious of having advanced one falsehood. The anecdotes which he has here committed to paper, were, all of them, in their day, very well known. They were the subjects of public conversation. But they have not been published. His situation gave him a knowledge of them, and a personal acquaintance with several of the events. It was his custom to keep a diary ; in which he minuted all such circumstances as seemed to him most worthy of remembrance. He has endeavoured to state the facts, as nearly as possible, in the original language ; and with the original colouring in which they were spontaneously given at the moment—presuming he should thereby exhibit the most faithful picture of a period, in which the noble Earl appears the principal figure on the canvas*.

* It was the opinion of the great Lord Somers, “ That the bent and genius of the age is best known in a free country, by the pamphlets and papers which daily come out, as containing the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation.”—The authority may be seen in the front of Lord Somers’s Tracts.—If these Anecdotes had been printed in the fugitive periodical papers of the times, they must undoubtedly have classed under his Lordship’s description. It is presumed, that neither the delay,

With respect to the Speeches in Parliament, it is proper to inform the reader, that a large portion of them are now first printed from the Editor's notes; or from those of particular friends, who having obligingly assisted him. The rest are copied from various publications, in England, Holland, and America. No pains have been spared to gain the best and fullest account of each speech. But it is not within the compass of one man, or of a first attempt, though neither crudely designed nor precipitately executed, to obtain perfection. There are doubtless omissions; though it is hoped not many. But if any Gentleman is in possession of any papers, or notes of any speeches, which may elucidate or contribute to the advantage of this Work, the writer will think himself honoured by the communication of them, for the benefit of a future edition; if the public favour should make one necessary.

December, 5, 1791.

nor the form of printing, will diminish the judgment of so respectable a recommendation.

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ANECDOTES

AND

SPEECHES.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Mr. Pitt's Birth.—Placed at Eton.—Sent to Oxford.—Mr. Warton's Compliment to Mr. Pitt.—Latin Verses by Mr. Pitt.—Goes abroad.—Elected a Member of Parliament.—Made a Cornet of Horse.—His Friends.—His First Speech in Parliament.—Honoured by the Prince of Wales.—His Commission taken from him by Sir Robert Walpole.—Verses to him by Lyttelton.—Patronized by Lord Cobham.—His Accomplishments.—Complimented by Thomson; by Hammond.—His Conduct in Parliament attacked by the Gazetteer; Defended by the Craftsman.—The Prince dismissed from St. James's.

THE lives of eminent men afford useful lessons of instruction, as well as great examples for imitation. No native of the British Islands stands higher in the judgment of the present age, for either the magnificence of his talents as a

senator and statesman, or the virtue of his conduct in both private and public life, than the late EARL OF CHATHAM: Nor will the character of any man, however flattered it may have been in description, or however superior he may have been in station, go down to posterity with purer honour.—Other men's names are remembered by the aid of biography; his will be revered by the glories of his actions, which illumined the political hemisphere during the splendid æra in which the reins of government were in his hands. The archives of the various nations of the world, at that period of his life, though written in different languages, will unite in raising a pyramid to his name, which TIME cannot destroy.

The memoirs of such a man ought to be written by the first historian of the age. This work assumes an humbler rank in literature. It goes forth with no other claim to public notice, than that of being A Collection of Fugitive Papers and Anecdotes; many of them known to several persons now living, but all of them to very few. In fine, the present publication is the effect of industry, not of ability.

The *Earl of Chatham* was born on the fifteenth of November 1708, in the parish of St. James's,

Westminster. He received the first part of his education at Eton, where he was placed upon the foundation. His cotemporaries at this school were *George Lyttelton*, afterwards Lord *Lyttelton*; *Henry Fox*, afterwards Lord *Holland*; Sir *Charles Hanbury Williams*; *Henry Fielding*, author of *Tom Jones*, &c. At the age of eighteen he was sent to Trinity College, Oxford. This last circumstance appears by the following extract from the Register in the Bursary in Trinity College, fol. 258:

“ *Ego Gulielmus Pitt, filius Roberti Pitt, armigeri, de Old Sarum, natus Londini in parochia Sancti Jacobi; annorum circiter 18 admissus sum commensalis primi ordinis sub tuitione Magistri Stockwell, Jan. die 10, 1726*.*”

* In reference to his having been a member of Trinity College, are the following lines in Mr. *Warton's* Address to him, upon the death of George the Second:

— Nor thou refuse
This humble present of no partial Muse,
From that calm Bow'r†, which nurs'd thy thoughtful
youth
In the pure precepts of Athenian truth:
Where first the form of British Liberty
Beam'd in full radiance on thy musing eye;
That form, whose mien sublime, with equal awe,
In the same shade unblemish'd Somers saw.

† Trinity College, Oxford; in which also Lord Somers was educated.

In the Oxford verses upon the death of *George the First*, which were published the year after he went to college, we find the following by Mr. *Pitt*:

Anglicæ vos O præsentia numina gentis
Libertas, atque Alma Themis! Neptune Britanni
Tu pater Oceani! (si jam pacata Georgi
Imperio tua perlabi licet æquora) vestro
(Triste ministerium!) pia solvite munera Regi.
At teneri planctus absint, mollesque querilæ
Herois tumulo; quas mors deflenda requirit,
Gesta vetant lacrymas, justæque superbia laudis.
Instare horribiles longè latèque tumultus
Hic super Hispanos violenta tumescere campos
Belli diluvies, illic ad flumina Rheni
Ardentes furibundus equos immittere Mavors.
Heu quam in se miseri cladem stragesque cierent!
Quot fortes caderent animæ! quot gurgite torquens
Sanguineo fluvius morientia corpora in altum
Volveret Oceanum! ni Te succurrere sæclo
Te solum, visum superis, Auguste, labenti
Tu miserans hominum pacem super astra volentem,
Imperio retines, terrasque revisere cogis.

Dextera quid petuit, primis ubi fervor in armis
Impulit ulcisci patriam, populosque gementes,
Turcarum dicant acies, versisque cohortes
Turbatæ signis; dicat perterrita Buda,
Invitaque tuos prætollat laude triumphos,
Fulmina cum attonitum contra torquenda tyrannum
Vidit, et intremuit. Rerum at jam lenior ordo
Arrisit, gladiumque manus consueta rotare
(Majus opus!) gratæ prætendit signa quietis.

Quare agite, O populi, tantarum in munere laudum
Sternite humum foliis. Sed vosante omnia Musæ

Cæsarem ac astra feretis; amavit vos quoque Cæsar:

Vestraque cum placida laurus concrevit oliva.

Felix, qui potuit mundi cohibere tumultus!

Fortunatus et illi, ægri solamen amoris

Qui subit Angliacis, tanti audit nominis hæres.

Auspice Te, dives agitans discordia, ludo

Heu satiata nimis! furias amnemque severum

Cocytii repetat, propriosque perhorreat angues.

At segura quies, metuens et gratia culpæ

Te circumvolitent. Themis hinc cælestis, et illinc

Sustentet solium clementia. Tu quoque magnam

Partem habeas opere in tanto, Carolina labore

Imperii recreans fessum: nam Maximus ille

Te colit, atque animi sensum Tibi credit opertum

Curarum consorti, et multo pignore junctæ.

Inclyta progenies! Tibi quam dilecta Tonanti

Latona invidet, quam vel Berecynthia Mater

Centum enixa Deos: si qua hæc sint dona Britannis

Propria, sintque precor, referant et utrumque parentem.

GUL. PITT,

e Coll. Trin. Socio Commens.

Before he left Eton he was afflicted with the gout, which increased during his residence at Oxford; and which at length obliged him to quit the university, without taking a degree. It was hereditary.

He afterwards made the tour of part of France, and part of Italy; but his disorder was not removed by it. He however constantly employed the leisure, which this painful and tedious malady

afforded, in the cultivation and improvement of his mind. Lord *Chesterfield*, who rather envied than admired his superiority, says, “that thus he acquired a great fund of premature and useful knowledge.”

He came first into parliament in the month of February 1735, for the borough of Old Sarum, in the room of his brother; who, being elected for Old Sarum and Oakhampton, made his election for the latter. His brother-in-law, *Robert Nedham*, Esq. was his coadjutor. Having five sisters, and an elder brother, his fortune was not very considerable; his friends, therefore, obtained for him a cornet's commission in the Blues, in addition to his income.

In March 1735, *George Lyttelton*, Esq. (eldest son of Sir *Thomas Lyttelton*, of Hagley, who married Lord *Cobham*'s sister, afterwards Lord *Lyttelton*, was elected member of parliament for Oakhampton, by the interest of *Thomas Pitt*, Esq. in the room of Mr. *Northmore*, who died a little time before.

At the general election in 1734, *Richard Grenville*, Esq. (the late Earl *Temple*, whose mother was Lord *Cobham*'s eldest sister) came first into parliament, being elected for Buckingham.

Mr. *W. Pitt*, Mr. *Grenville*, and Mr. *Lyttelton*, became associates, and for several years always sat together in the House of Commons.

Mr. *Pitt* had not been many days in parliament when he was selected for a teller. It appears by the Journals, vol. xxii. page 535, upon a motion to refer the navy estimates to a select committee, that the House divided, and that Mr. *William Pitt* and Mr. *Sandys*, afterwards Lord *Sandys*, were appointed tellers of the minority upon that question.

Mr. *Pitt's* first speech in parliament was on the 29th of April 1736, upon seconding a motion made by his friend Mr. *Lyttelton*, viz.

“That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to congratulate his Majesty on the nuptials of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*; and to express the satisfaction and great joy of his faithful Commons on this happy occasion, which they look upon with unspeakable comfort, as the means under the divine Providence, of giving an additional strength to the Protestant interest, and of securing to all future ages the laws and liberties of this nation, in the full manner we now happily and thankfully en-

joy them, under the protection of his Majesty's just and mild government over his people."

When Mr. *Lyttelton* sat down, Mr. *Pitt* rose, and spoke in substance nearly as follows:

"He began with observing, that he was unable to offer any thing that had not been said by his honourable friend who made the motion, in a manner much more suitable to the dignity and importance of the subject. But, said he, 'I am really affected with the prospect of the blessings to be derived to my country from this so desirable and long-desired measure, the marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*; I cannot forbear troubling you with a few words, to express my joy, and to mingle my humble offering, inconsiderable as it is, with this oblation of thanks and congratulation to his Majesty.

"How great soever the joy of the public may be, and very great it certainly is, in receiving this benefit from his Majesty, it must be inferior to that high satisfaction which he himself enjoys in bestowing it:—And if I may be allowed to suppose, that to a royal mind any thing can transcend the pleasure of gratifying the impa-

tient wishes of a loyal people, it can only be the paternal delight of tenderly indulging the most dutiful application, and most humble request, of a submissive obedient son. I mention, Sir, his Royal Highness's having asked a marriage, because something is, in justice, due to him, for having asked what we are so strongly bound, by all the ties of duty and gratitude to return his Majesty our most humble acknowledgments for having granted.

“The marriage of a Prince of *Wales*, Sir, has at all times been a matter of the highest importance to the public welfare, to present and to future generations; but at no time has it been a more important, a more dear consideration, than at this day: if a character, at once amiable and respectable, can embellish, and even dignify, the elevated rank of a Prince of *Wales*. Were it not a sort of presumption to follow so great a person through his hours of retirement, to view him in the milder light of domestic life, we should find him engaged in the noble exercise of humanity, benevolence, and of every social virtue. But, Sir, how pleasing, how captivating soever such a scene may be, yet, as it is a private one, I fear I should offend the delicacy of that virtue I so ardently desire to do justice to, should I offer it to the consideration of this House. But, Sir,

filial duty to his Royal parents, a generous love of liberty, and a just reverence for the British constitution; these are public virtues, and cannot escape the applause and benedictions of the public: They are virtues, Sir, which render his Royal Highness not only a noble ornament, but a firm support, if any could possibly be necessary, of that throne so greatly filled by his Royal father.

“ I have been led to say thus much of his Royal Highness’s character, because it is the consideration of that character which, above all things, enforces the justice and goodness of his Majesty in the measure now before us; a measure which the nation thought could never come too soon, because it brings with it the promise of an additional strength to the Protestant succession in his Majesty’s illustrious and royal house. The spirit of liberty dictated that succession; the same spirit now rejoices in the prospect of its being perpetuated to latest posterity.—It rejoices in the choice which has been made of a Princess, so distinguished in the merit of her family, the glory of whose great ancestor it is, to have sacrificed himself to the noblest cause for which a Prince can draw his sword, the cause of liberty and the Protestant religion. Such, Sir, is the marriage, for which our most humble acknow-

ledgments are due to his Majesty ; and may it afford the comfort of seeing the Royal Family (numerous as I thank God it is) still growing and rising up in a third generation ! a family, Sir, which I most sincerely wish may be as immortal as those liberties and that constitution it came to maintain ; and therefore I am heartily for the motion.'

'The motion was unanimously agreed to.

The speeches of both gentlemen, being what are called maiden, or first speeches, were not only heard with great indulgence, but pleasure ; and were honoured with the warmest approbation of every auditor. The extraordinary merit of these young gentlemen induced his Royal Highness to bestow upon them the most gracious and flattering marks of his distinction and countenance.

Upon every question Mr. *Pitt* divided with his friends against the minister, and appeared, on every occasion, a firm and determined opponent of the minister's measures. Sir *Robert Walpole* was not a little irritated by this conduct ; and being in the habit of dismissing military officers for their conduct in parliament, and having, particularly, a short time before, dis-

missed Lord *Cobham* and others, he made no hesitation of dismissing Mr. *Pitt*.—This imprudent, violent, and unconstitutional measure, so far from diminishing Mr. *Pitt's* consequence in the eyes of his patron, or the public, very considerably increased it in both. His friend Mr. *Lytelton* wrote the following lines on the occasion :

To WILLIAM PITT, Esq. on his losing his Commission, in the Year 1736.

Long had thy virtues mark'd thee out for fame,
Far, far superior to a Cornet's name;
This gen'rous *Walpole* saw, and griev'd to find
So mean a post disgrace that noble mind :
The servile standard from the free-born hand
He took, and bad thee lead the patriot band.

Lord *Cobham*, the revered patron of virtue and genius, whose character was in such high estimation that his smile alone conferred honour, was among the foremost to offer him his services and friendship. An acquaintance thus formed, on a congeniality of sentiment and principle, soon ripened into affection; and Mr. *Pitt's* society was ever after esteemed by the noble Lord among the greatest pleasures of his life. It is no wonder, indeed, that a nobleman possessing the knowledge, the virtue, and the discernment of Lord *Cobham*, should be so captivated

with, and attached to, his young friend ; for, to brilliancy of talents, to a high sense of honour, and to the most exalted principles of public and private virtue, Mr. *Pitt* had united every elegant accomplishment ; and his manners and address were as irresistible as his eloquence. His character was, indeed, such as to form a fitter subject of poetic praise, than historic description : and the following extracts will prove that the first poets of his time, *Thomson* and *Hammond*, did not lose the opportunity of painting from so rare a model :

The fair majestic paradise of Stowe
And there, O *Pitt*, thy country's early boast,
There let me sit beneath the shelter'd slopes ;
Or in that temple*, where, in future times,
Thou well shalt merit a distinguish'd name ;
And, with thy converse blest, catch the last smiles
Of Autumn beaming o'er the yellow woods.
While there with thee th' enchanted round I walk,
The regulated wild, gay fancy then
Will tread in thought the groves of Attic land ;
Will from thy standard taste refine her own,
Correct her pencil to the purest truth
Of Nature ; or, the unimpassion'd shades
Forsaking, raise it to the human mind.
Or if hereafter she, with juster hand,
Shall draw the tragic scene, instruct her, thou !
To mark the varied movements of the heart,

* Temple of Virtue, in Stowe Gardens.

What ev'ry decent character requires,
And ev'ry passion speaks: O, through her strain
Breathe thy pathetic eloquence! that moulds
The attentive Senate, charms, persuades, exalts;
Of honest Zeal th' indignant lightning throws,
And shakes Corruption on her venal throne*.

Nor does the elegant and pathetic *Hammond* fall short of *Thomson*, in the following lines:

To Stowe's delightful scenes I now repair,
In *Cobham's* smile to lose the gloom of care. . . .
There *Pitt*, in manners soft, in friendship warm,
With mild advice my listening grief shall charm,
With sense to counsel, and with wit to please,
A Roman's virtue, with a Courtier's ease.

On the 23d of February 1737, Mr. *Pulteney* (afterwards Earl of *Bath*) moved for an address to the King, humbly beseeching his Majesty to settle 100,000*l.* *per annum* on the Prince of *Wales*.

The minister, Sir *Robert Walpole*, opposed this motion with all his strength. The Prince being in opposition to him, he was sensible that a compliance with the motion would as infallibly increase the power of his Royal Highness, as it would diminish his own.—Mr. *Pitt* is said to

* Thomson's Autumn.

have spoken very ably in support of the motion, as did Mr. *Grenville* and Mr. *Lyttelton*, on the same side ; but their speeches are no where distinctly preserved.—The substance of the debate on both sides is stated only in the form of a general argument, *for* and *against* the motion.

The political papers of the time, however, very clearly evince that the minister smarted under the lash of Mr. *Pitt*'s eloquence : for in one of the numbers of the *Gazetteer*, a paper, at that time, avowedly written in support of the minister, and published soon after the close of the session, Mr. *Pitt* is characterized in terms which are as illiberal as they are unjust ; and which occasioned the opposition-paper of those times, the *Craftsman*, to defend him, in reply to the *Gazetteer*.

“ Should a young man” (says the *Gazetteer*), “ just brought into the House of Commons, endeavour to rank himself with the first in reputation and experience, would he not render himself ridiculous by the attempt, and even destroy the degree of fame which he might otherwise deserve ? A young man of my acquaintance, through an overbearing disposition, and a weak judgment, assuming the character of a great man, which he is no way able to support, is be-

come the object of ridicule, instead of praise. My young man has the vanity to put himself in the place of Tully. But let him consider that every one who has the same natural imperfections with Tully, has not therefore the same natural perfections; though his neck should be as long, his body as slender, yet his voice may not be as sonorous, his action may not be as just.—Such a one may be deluded enough to look upon himself as a person of real consequence, and not see that he is raised by a party, as a proper tool for their present purposes, and whom they can at any time pull down, when those purposes are served.

In answer to the preceding, the Craftsman, No. 596, says,

“That he is not addicted to panegyric, but roused by an honest zeal to resent the blackest personal calumny, by exposing the heart and intention of the wretched author, in brow-beating rising virtue, and slandering a certain young gentleman in the grossest manner; one who, in every situation, hath conducted himself in the nicest and discreetest manner; and by his thirst after learning hath given reason to expect actions suitable to so happy and singular a beginning. The Gazetteer pretends to an acquaintance of the gentleman; but surely no man of

the least honour would offer to fall so foul on his friend; neither would an acquaintance of any value or worth advise him thus publickly, and thereby endeavour to expose him to the world. To shew how prejudicial to the good of one's country such treatment of rising merit may be, let us consider the great *Demosthenes* returning from the bar, discontented at his own performances, meeting such an adviser as this, persuading him already too much prejudiced against his own imperfections, not to attempt to establish his reputation as an orator, for which he was no-way designed by nature. Such advice, in the situation he was in, might perhaps have had its fatal effect; and what, O Athenians, would you have lost in this case? Not only the reputation of producing one of the brightest orators that ever lived, but the boldest defender of your liberties, and the greatest check to the Macedonian monarch: A man of whom Philip, by his own confession, stood more in awe than all the Grecian States he sought to oppress."

The Prince being this year deprived of his apartments at St. James's, and excluded from Court, several of his household resigned their places, and were succeeded by others: In this revolution Mr. *Pitt* was appointed groom of the

bedchamber, and Mr. *Lyttelton* private secretary to his Royal Highness.

CHAP. II.

Mr. Pitt's Speech in favour of a Reduction of the Army—On the Convention with Spain—On Admiral Haddock's Instructions—On Sir Charles Wager's Bill for the Encouragement of Seamen—Reply to Mr. Horace Walpole—Reply to Mr. Winnington—On the motion for an Address to remove Sir Robert Walpole.

MR. *Pitt's* speeches during the remaining period of Sir *Robert Walpole's* administration, which have been preserved, are the seven following*.

On the 4th of February 1738, on the report of the number of land forces, Mr. *Pitt* spoke

* They are taken from *Chandler's* collection of Parliamentary Debates. The authority is not very good; but there is no other account of the Parliamentary Debates during this period. It must likewise be observed, that few of Lord *Chatham's* speeches, prior to 1750, are to be wholly depended upon. And the only apology that can be made for giving them a place in this work, is, that they are generally supposed to contain a part, at least, of his argument.

in favour of a reduction, in reply to *Sir Thomas Lumley Saunderson*, afterwards *Earl of Scarborough*, who had spoken in support of the number proposed by the minister.

Sir Thomas had said, that he was surprised to hear any placeman arguing in favour of a reduction of the army, which *Sir Joseph Jekyl*, *Mr. Lyttelton*, &c. had done.

Mr. Pitt began with saying, "That as to what the honourable gentleman had said, respecting those whom he calls placemen, he would agree with him, that if they were to be directed in their opinions by the places they held, they might unite for the support of each other, against the common good of the nation; but I hope," said he, "none of them are under any such directions; I am sure the honourable gentleman himself is not, and therefore I am convinced he is not serious, when he talks of being surprised at any placeman's declaring for a reduction of our army; for, of all men, those who enjoy any places of profit under our government, ought to be the most cautious of loading the public with any unnecessary tax or expence; because as the places they possess generally bring them in more than their share of our taxes can amount to, it may be properly said, that by consenting to any

article of public expence, they lay a load upon others which they themselves bear no share of.

“ I must look upon myself as a placeman, as well as the honourable gentleman who spoke last. I am in the service of one of the branches of the Royal Family, and I think it my honour to be so; but I should not think it if I were not as free to give my opinion upon any question that happens in this House, as I was before I had any such place; and I believe, from the behaviour of gentlemen upon this very occasion, it will appear, that all those who are in the service with me are in the same state of freedom, because I believe they will, upon the question now before us, appear to be of different opinions. But there is another set of placemen, whose behaviour surprises me not a little, because upon every question respecting public affairs, they are always unanimous; and I confess it is to me a little astonishing, that two or three hundred gentlemen should, by an unaccountable sort of agreement, always be of one opinion. I am convinced this surprising unanimity does not proceed from any effect of the places they hold under the crown; for if it did, a man's being possessed of any place under the crown would, in such a case, I am sure, be an infallible reason for the people not to trust him

with the preservation of their liberties, or the disposal of their properties in parliament.

“Then, as to the Tories, and suspected Jacobites, I am surprised to hear any comparison made between them and the fat man in the crowd. There are so few of either in the kingdom, that I am sure they can give no man an occasion for being afraid of them, and therefore there is not the least shadow of reason for saying they are the occasion of our being obliged to keep such a numerous standing army.

“Our large army may properly be compared to the fat man in the crowd; for the keeping up of such an army is the first cause of our discontents; and those discontents, now we find, are made the chief pretence for keeping the army. Remove, therefore, the army, or but a considerable part of it, and the discontents complained of will cease. I come now to the only argument the hon. gentleman made use of, which can admit a serious consideration; and if our army were entirely, or but generally, composed of veterans, inured to the fatigues and the dangers of war, and such as had often ventured their lives against the enemies of their country, I confess the argument would have a great weight: But, considering the circumstances of our present army, I can hardly think my hon. friend

was serious when he made use of such argument. As for the officers of the army, they are quite out of the question; for, in case of a reduction, there is a handsome provision for every one of them; no man can doubt, nor would any man oppose, their being put upon half pay; and I must observe, that our half pay is better, or as good, as full pay, I believe, in any other country in Europe; for in the method our army is now kept up, I could shew, by calculation, that it costs the nation more than would maintain three times the number of men either in France or Germany. And as for the soldiers, I believe it may be said of at least three-fourths of them, that they never went under any fatigue except that of a review, nor were ever exposed to any danger, except in apprehending smugglers, or dispersing mobs; therefore I must think, they have no claim for any greater reward than the pay they have already received, nor should I think we were guilty of the least ingratitude if they were all turned adrift to-morrow morning.

“ But suppose, Sir, the soldiers of our army had all served a campaign or two against a public enemy; is it from thence to be inferred, that they must for ever after live idly, and be maintained at the expence of their country? And that in such a manner as to be dangerous to the liberties of their country? At this rate if a

man has but once ventured his life in the service of his country, he must for ever be not only a burthen but a terror to his country. This would be a sort of a reward which I am sure no brave soldier would accept of, nor any honest one desire. That we should shew a proper gratitude to those who have ventured their lives in the service of their country, is what I shall readily acknowledge; but this gratitude ought to be shewn in such a way as not to be dangerous to our liberties, nor too burthensome to the people; and therefore, when a war is at an end, if a soldier can provide for himself, either by his own labour, or by his own private fortune, he ought not to expect, and if he is not of a mercenary disposition, he will scorn to receive, any other rewards than those which consist in the peculiar honour and privileges, which may and ought to be conferred upon him.—Yet, as the laws now stand, an old officer, who has often ventured his life, and often spilt his blood, in the service of his country, may be dismissed and reduced, perhaps to a starving condition, at the arbitrary will and pleasure, perhaps at the whim and caprice of a minister; so that by the present establishment of the army, the reward of a soldier seems not to depend upon the services done to his country, but upon the services he does to those who happen to be ministers at the time. Must not this be allowed to be a defect in the

present establishment? And yet when a law was proposed for supplying this defect, we may remember what reception it met with, even from those who now insist so highly upon the gratitude we ought to shew the gentlemen of the army."

On the 8th of March 1739, Mr. *H. Walpole* having moved, That an address of thanks be presented to the King, on the convention with Spain, this motion brought on a long debate; in which Mr. *Pitt* followed Mr. *Howe* (afterwards Lord *Chedworth*), who had spoke for the address; Mr. *Pitt's* speech was against it, viz.

"I can by no means think that the complicated question now before us, is the proper, the direct manner of taking the sense of this committee. We have here the soft name of an humble address to the crown proposed, and for no other end but to lead gentlemen into an approbation of the convention. But is this that full, deliberate examination, which we were with defiance called upon to give? Is this cursory blended disquisition of matters, of such variety and extent, all we owe to ourselves and our country? Our trade is at a stake, it is our last entrenchment; we must defend it, or perish. But how are we proceeding? Upon an artificial, ministerial question:—Here is all the confidence, here is the conscious sense of the greatest service that ever

was done to this country; to be complicating questions, to be lumping sanction and approbation like a commissary's accompt; to be covering and taking sanctuary in the Royal name, instead of meeting openly and standing fairly the direct judgment and sentence of Parliament upon the several articles of this convention.

“ You have been moved to vote an humble address of thanks to his Majesty, for a measure which (I will appeal to gentlemen's conversation in the world) is odious throughout the kingdom: Such thanks are only due to the fatal influence that framed it, as are due for that low, unallied condition abroad, which is now made a plea for this convention. To what are gentlemen reduced in support of it? First try a little to defend it upon its own merits; if that is not tenable, throw out general terrors—the House of Bourbon is united; who knows the consequence of a war? Sir, Spain knows the consequence of a war in America; whoever gains, it must prove fatal to her; she knows it, and must therefore avoid it; but she knows England does not dare to make it; and what is a delay, which this magnified convention is to produce? Can it produce such conjunctures as those you lost, while you were giving kingdoms to Spain, to bring her back to that great branch of the House of Bourbon, which is

now thrown out to you with so much terror? If this union be formidable, are we to delay only till it becomes more formidable, by being carried further into execution, and more strongly cemented?—But be it what it will, is this any longer a nation, or what is an English parliament, if with more ships in your harbours than in all the navies of Europe, with above two millions of people in your American colonies, you will bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory, dishonourable convention; Sir, I call it no more than it has been proved in this debate; it carries fallacy or downright subjection in almost every line. It has been laid open and exposed in so many strong and glaring lights, that I can pretend to add nothing to the conviction and indignation it has raised.

“ Sir, as to the great national objection, the searching your ships, that favourite word, as it is called, is not omitted, indeed, in the preamble to the convention, but it stands there as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission that follows: On the part of Spain, an usurpation, an inhuman tyranny, claimed and exercised over the American seas; on the part of England, an undoubted right, by treaties, and from God and nature, declared and

asserted in the resolutions of Parliament, are referred to the discussion of plenipotentiaries. Sir, I say this undoubted right is to be discussed and regulated. And if to regulate be to prescribe rules (as in all construction it is), this right is, by the express word of this convention, to be given up and sacrificed; for it must cease to be any thing from the moment it is submitted to limits.

“ The court of Spain has plainly told you (as appears by papers upon the table) you shall steer a due course: you shall navigate by a line to and from your plantations in America; if you draw near to her coasts (though from the circumstances of that navigation you are under an unavoidable necessity of doing it), you shall be seized and confiscated. If, then, upon these terms only she has consented to refer, what becomes at once of all the security we are flattered with, in consequence of this reference? Plenipotentiaries are to regulate finally the respective pretensions of the two crowns, with regard to trade and navigation in America; but does any man in Spain believe that these pretensions will be regulated to the satisfaction and honour of England? No, Sir, they conclude, and with reason, from the high spirit of their administration, from the superiority with which they have so long treated you,

that this reference must end, as it has begun, to their honour and advantage.

“ But gentlemen say, the treaties subsisting are to be the measure of this regulation. Sir, as to treaties, I will take part of the words of Sir *William Temple*, quoted by the hon. gentleman near me; *It is in vain to negotiate* and make *treaties*, if there is not dignity and vigour to enforce the observance of them; for under the misconstruction and misrepresentation of these very treaties subsisting, this intolerable grievance has arisen; it has been growing upon you, treaty after treaty, through twenty years of negotiation, and even under the discussion of commissaries, to whom it was referred. You have heard from Captain Vaughan, at your bar, at what time these injuries and indignities were continued. As a kind of explanatory comment upon the convention, Spain has thought fit to grant you, as another insolent protest, under the validity and force of which she has suffered this convention to be proceeded upon, We'll treat with you, but we'll search and take your ships; we'll sign a convention, but we'll keep your subjects prisoners, prisoners in Old Spain; the West Indies are remote; Europe shall be witness how we use you.

“As to the inference of an admission of our right not to be searched, drawn from a reparation made for ships unduly seized and confiscated, I think that argument is very inconclusive. The right claimed by Spain to search our ships is one thing, and the excesses admitted to have been committed in consequence of this pretended right, is another; but surely, Sir, reasoning from inferences and implication only, is below the dignity of your proceedings, upon a right of this vast importance. What this reparation is, what sort of composition for your losses, forced upon you by Spain, in an instance that has come to light, where your own commissaries could not in conscience decide against your claim, has fully appeared upon examination; and as for the payment of the sum stipulated (all but seven and twenty thousand pounds, and that too subject to a drawback) it is evidently a fallacious nominal payment only. I will not attempt to enter into the detail of a dark, confused, and scarcely intelligible accompt; I will only beg leave to conclude with one word upon it, in the light of a submission, as well as of an adequate reparation. Spain stipulates to pay to the crown of England ninety-five thousand pounds; by a preliminary protest of the King of Spain, the South Sea Company is at once to pay sixty-eight thousand of it: If they refuse,

Spain, I admit, is still to pay the ninety-five thousand pounds: But how does it stand then? The Assiento contract is to be suspended: You are to purchase this sum at the price of an exclusive trade, pursuant to a national treaty, and of an immense debt of God knows how many hundred thousand pounds due from Spain to the South Sea Company. Here, Sir, is the submission of Spain, by the payment of a stipulated sum; a tax laid upon the subjects of England, under the severest penalties, with the reciprocal accord of an English minister, as a preliminary that the convention may be signed; a condition imposed by Spain in the most absolute and imperious manner; and received by the ministers of England in the most tame and abject manner. Can any verbal distinctions, any evasions whatever, possibly explain away this public infamy? To whom would we disguise it? To ourselves and to the nation. I wish we could hide it from the eyes of every court in Europe: They see Spain has talked to you like your master; they see this arbitrary fundamental condition, and it must stand with distinction, with a pre-eminence of shame, as a part even of this convention.

‘This convention, Sir, I think from my soul, is nothing but a stipulation for national ignominy; an illusory expedient, to baffle the resent-

ment of the nation; a truce without a suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain; on the part of England a suspension: As to Georgia, of the first law of nature, self-preservation and self-defence, a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of plenipotentiaries, and in this infinitely highest and sacred point, future security, not only inadequate, but directly repugnant to the resolutions of Parliament, and the gracious promise from the throne. The complaints of your despairing merchants, the voice of England has condemned it: Be the guilt of it upon the head of the adviser. God forbid that this Committee should share the guilt by approving it!"

The address was agreed to.

On a motion made by Mr. *Waller*, on the 24th of January 1740, for copies of letters and orders sent to Admiral *Haddock*, and others, Mr. *Pitt* made a short speech in support of the motion, in reply to Sir *Robert Walpole*, who opposed it. Sir *Robert* concluded with saying, "That the time which would be taken up with such a fruitless inquiry might be more usefully employed;" which brought up Mr. *Pitt*, who said,

"It is my opinion, that our time cannot be more usefully employed, during a war, than

examining how it has been conducted, and settling the degree of confidence that may be reposed in those, to whose care are entrusted our reputations, our fortunes, and our lives.

“There is not any inquiry, Sir, of more importance than this; it is not a question about an uncertain privilege, or a law which, if found inconvenient, may hereafter be repealed; we are now to examine whether it is probable that we shall preserve our commerce and our independence, or whether we are sinking into subjection to foreign power.

“But this inquiry, Sir, will produce no great information, if those whose conduct is examined are allowed to select the evidence; for what accounts will they exhibit but such as have often already been laid before us, and such as they now offer without concern? Accounts obscure and fallacious, imperfect and confused; from which nothing can be learned, and which can never entitle the minister to praise, though they may screen him from punishment.”

In the same session, on the 10th of March 1740, on the bill brought in by Sir *Charles Wager*, for the encouragement of seamen, and speedier manning the royal navy, Mr. *Pitt*, spoke against the bill, viz.

‘ Nothing is more evident, than that some degree of reputation is absolutely necessary to men who have any concern in the administration of a government like ours; they must either secure the fidelity of their adherents, by the assistance of wisdom or of virtue; their enemies must either be awed by their honesty, or terrified by their ability. Mere bribery will never gain a sufficient majority to set them entirely free from the apprehensions of danger. To different tempers, different motives must be applied: Some, who place their felicity in being accounted wise, are in very little care to preserve the character of honesty; others may be persuaded to join in measures which they easily discover to be weak and ill-concerted, because they are convinced that the authors of them are not corrupt, but mistaken, and are unwilling that any man should be punished for natural defects or casual ignorance.

‘ I cannot say which of these motives influence the advocates of the bill before us; a bill in which such cruelties are proposed, as are unknown among the most savage nations; such as slavery has not yet borne, or tyranny invented; such as cannot be heard without resentment, nor thought of without horror.

‘ It is, perhaps, not unfortunate that one more expedient has been added, rather ridiculous than shocking, and that these tyrants of administration, who amuse themselves with oppressing their fellow-subjects, who add, without reluctance, one hardship to another, invade the liberty of those whom they have already overborne with taxes, first plunder, and then imprison; who take all opportunities of heightening the public distresses, and make the miseries of war the instruments of new oppressions; are too ignorant to be formidable, and owe their power, not to their abilities, but to casual prosperity, or to the influence of money.

‘ The other clauses of this bill, complicated at once with cruelty and folly, have been treated with becoming indignation; but this may be considered with less ardour and resentment, and fewer emotions of zeal; because, though not perhaps equally iniquitous, it will do no harm; for a law that can never be executed can never be felt.

‘ That it will consume the manufacture of paper, and swell the book of statutes, is all the good or hurt that can be hoped or feared from a law like this; a law which fixes what is in its

own nature mutable, which prescribes rules to the seasons and limits to the wind.

‘I am too well acquainted, Sir, with the disposition of its two chief supporters, to mention the contempt with which this law will be treated by posterity; for they have already shewn abundantly their disregard of succeeding generations; but I will remind them, that they are now venturing their whole interest at once, and hope they will recollect, before it is too late, that those who believe them to intend the happiness of their country, will never be confirmed in their opinion by open cruelty and notorious oppression; and that those who have only their own interest in view, will be afraid of adhering to those leaders, however old and practised in expedients, however strengthened by corruption, or elated with power, who have no reason to hope for success from either their virtue or abilities.’

This speech produced an answer from Mr. *Horace Walpole*, who, in the course of it, said, ‘Formidable sounds and furious declamation, confident assertions, and lofty periods, may affect the young and unexperienced; and perhaps the hon. gentleman may have contracted his habits of oratory by conversing more with

those of his own age, than with such as have had more opportunities of acquiring knowledge, and more successful methods of communicating their sentiments;’ and made use of some expressions, such as vehemence of gesture, theatrical emotion, &c. applying them to Mr. *Pitt’s* manner of speaking. As soon as Mr. *Walpole* sat down, Mr. *Pitt* stood up, and replied:

‘ The atrocious crime of being a young man, which the hon. gentleman has with such spirit and decency charged upon me, I shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny, but content myself with wishing that I may be one of those whose follies may cease with their youth, and not of that number who are ignorant in spite of experience.

‘ Whether youth can be imputed to any man as a reproach, I will not assume the province of determining: But surely age may become justly contemptible, if the opportunities which it brings have past away without improvement, and vice appears to prevail when the passions have subsided. The wretch who, after having seen the consequences of a thousand errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object

of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey head should secure him from insults.

‘ Much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country.

‘ But youth is not my only crime;—I have been accused of acting a theatrical part: A theatrical part may either imply some peculiarities of gesture, or a dissimulation of my real sentiments, and an adoption of the opinions and language of another.

‘ In the first sense, the charge is too trifling to be confuted, and deserves only to be mentioned, that it may be despised. I am at liberty, like every other man, to use my own language; and though I may, perhaps, have some ambition, yet, to please this gentleman, I shall not lay myself under any restraint, nor very solicitously copy his diction, or his mien, however matured by age, or modelled by experience. If any man shall, by charging me with theatrical be-

haviour, imply that I utter any sentiments but my own, I shall treat him as a calumniator; nor shall any protection shelter him from the treatment he deserves. I shall, on such an occasion, without scruple trample upon all those forms, in which wealth and pride always entrench themselves, nor shall any thing but age restrain my resentment; age, which always brings one privilege, that of being insolent and supercilious without punishment.

‘ But with regard to those whom I have offended, I am of opinion, that if I had acted a borrowed part, I should have avoided their censure; the heat that offended them is the ardour of conviction, and that zeal for the service of my country which neither hope nor fear shall influence me to suppress. I will not sit unconcerned while my liberty is invaded, nor look in silence upon public robbery. I will exert my endeavours, at whatever hazard, to repel the aggressor, and drag the thief to justice, whoever may protect them in their villainy, and whoever may partake of their plunder. And if the hon. gentleman——’

Here he was called to order by Mr. *Winnington*, who reprehended him in very illiberal terms,

and was proceeding in the same strain, when Mr. *Pitt*, in turn, called Mr. *Winnington* to order, and said.

‘ If this be to preserve order, there is no danger of indecency from the most licentious tongue; for what calumny can be more atrocious, or what reproach more severe, than that of speaking without any regard to truth? Order may sometimes be broken by passion or inadvertency, but will hardly be re established by a monitor like this, who cannot govern his own passion whilst he is restraining the impetuosity of others.

‘ Happy would it be for mankind, if every one knew his own province; we should not then see the same man at once a criminal and a judge; nor would this gentleman assume the right of dictating to others what he has not learned himself.

‘ That I may return, in some degree, the favour which he intends me, I will advise him never hereafter to exert himself on the subject of order; but whenever he finds himself inclined to speak on such occasions, to remember how he has now succeeded, and condemn in silence what his censures will never perform.’

On the 13th of February 1741, Mr. *Sandys* (afterwards Lord *Sandys*) moved an address to the King, requesting his Majesty to remove Sir *Robert Walpole* from his presence and councils for ever.

Mr. *Pitt* spoke in support of this motion, *viz.*

‘ As it has been observed, that those who have formerly approved the measures of the gentleman into whose conduct we are now inquiring, cannot be expected to disavow their former opinions, unless new arguments are produced of greater force than those which have formerly been offered; so the same steadiness must be expected in those who have opposed them, unless they can now hear them better defended.

‘ It is an established maxim, Sir, that as time is the test of opinions, falsehood grows every day weaker, and truth gains upon mankind. This is most eminently just in political assertions, which often respect future events, and the remote consequences of transactions; and therefore never fails to be, by time, incontestably verified, or undeniably combated. On many occasions it is impossible to determine the expediency of measures otherwise than by conjec-

ture; because almost every step that can be taken, may have a tendency to a good, as well as to a bad end: And as he who proposes, and he who promotes, may conceal their intentions till they are ripened into execution, time only can discover the motives of their demands, and the principles of their conduct.

‘ For this reason it may easily be expected, that bad measures will be condemned by men of integrity, when their consequences are fully discovered; though, when they were proposed, they might, by plausible declarations and specious appearances, obtain their approbation and applause. Those, whose purity of intention and simplicity of morals, exposed them to credulity and implicit confidence, must resent the arts by which they were deluded into a concurrence with projects detrimental to their country, but of which the consequences were artfully concealed from them, or the real intention steadily denied.

‘ With regard to those gentlemen, whose neglect of political studies has not qualified them to judge of the questions when they were first debated; and who, giving their suffrages, were not so much directed by their own conviction, as by the authority of men whose experience

and knowledge they knew to be great, and whose integrity they had hitherto found no reason to distrust; it may be naturally expected, that when they see those measures which were recommended, as necessary to peace and happiness, productive only of confusion, oppression, and distress, they should acknowledge their error, and forsake their guides, whom they must discover to have been either ignorant or treacherous; and by an open recantation of their former decisions, endeavour to repair the calamities which they have contributed to bring on their country.

‘ The extent and complication of political questions is such, that no man can justly be ashamed of having been sometimes mistaken in his determinations; and the propensity of the human mind to confidence and friendship is so great, that every man, however cautious, however sagacious, or however experienced, is exposed sometimes to the artifices of interest and the delusions of hypocrisy; but it is the duty, and ought to be the honour, of every man to own his mistake, whenever he discovers it, and to warn others against those frauds which have been too successfully practised upon himself.

‘ I am, therefore, inclined to hope, that every man will not be equally pre-determined in the

present debate, and that as I shall be ready to declare my approbation of integrity and wisdom, though they should be found where I have long suspected ignorance and corruption; as others will, with equal justice, censure, wickedness and error, though they should be detected in that person whom they have been long taught to reverence as the oracle of knowledge and the pattern of virtue.

‘ In political debates, time always produces new lights; time can, in these inquiries, never be neutral, but must always acquit or condemn. Time, indeed, may not always produce new arguments against bad conduct, because all its consequences might be originally foreseen and exposed; but it must always confirm them, and ripen conjectures into certainty. Though it should, therefore, be truly asserted, that nothing is urged in this debate which was not before mentioned and rejected, it will not prove that because the arguments are the same, they ought to produce the same effect; because what was then only foretold, has now been seen and felt, and what was then but suspected is now confirmed.

‘ But if time has produced no vindication of those measures which were suspected of impru-

dence or of treachery, it must be at length acknowledged that those suspicions were just, and that what ought then to have been rejected, ought now to be punished.

‘ This is, for the most part, the state of the question. Those measures which were once defended by sophistical reasoning, or palliated by warm declamations of sincerity and disinterested zeal for the public happiness, are found to be such as they were represented by those who opposed them. It is now discovered that the treaty of Hanover was calculated only for the advancement of the House of Bourbon; that our armies are kept up only to multiply dependence, and to awe the nation from the exertion of its rights; that Spain has been courted only to the ruin of our trade; and that the convention was little more than an artifice to amuse the people with an idle appearance of a reconciliation, which our enemies never intended.

‘ Of the stipulation which produced the memorable treaty of Hanover, the improbability was often urged, but the absolute falsehood could be proved only by the declaration of one of the parties. This declaration was at length produced by time, which was never favourable to the measures of our minister. For the Em-

peror of Germany asserted, with the utmost solemnity, that no such article was ever proposed; and that his engagements with Spain had no tendency to produce any change in the government of this kingdom.

‘ Thus it is evident, Sir, that all the terrors which the apprehension of this alliance produced, were merely the operation of fraud upon cowardice; and that they were only raised by the artful French, to disunite us from the only power with which it is our interest to cultivate an inseparable friendship. This disunion may therefore be justly charged upon the minister, who has weakened the interest of this country, and endangered the liberties of Europe.

‘ If it be asked, Sir, how he could have discovered the falsehood of the report, before it was confuted by the late Emperor, it may easily be answered, that he might have discovered it by the same tokens which betrayed it to his opponents, the impossibility of putting it into execution. For it must be confessed, that his French informers, well acquainted with his disposition to panic fears, had used no caution in the construction of their imposture, nor seem to have had any other view, than to add one error

to another, to sink his reason with alarms, and to overbear him with astonishment.

‘ When they found he began to be disordered at the danger of our trade from enemies without naval forces, they easily discovered that, to make him the slave of France, nothing more was necessary than to add, that these bloody confederates had projected an invasion; that they intended to add slavery to poverty, and to place the Pretender upon the throne.

‘ To be alarmed into vigilance had not been unworthy of the firmest and most sagacious minister; but to be frightened by such reports into measures which even an invasion could scarcely have justified, was, at least, a proof of a capacity not formed by nature for the administration of government.

‘ If it be required, what advantage was granted by this treaty to the French, and to what inconveniences it has subjected this nation, an answer may very justly be refused, till the minister or his apologists shall explain his conduct in the last war with Spain; and inform us why the plate fleet was spared, our ships sacrificed to the worms, and our admiral and his sail-

ors poisoned in an unhealthy climate? Why the Spaniards, in full security, laughed at our armaments, and triumphed in our calamities?

‘ The lives of Hozier, and his seamen, are now justly to be demanded of this man ; he is now to be charged with the murder of all those unhappy men, whom he exposed to misery and contagion, to pacify, on one hand, the British, who called out for war, and to gratify, on the other, the French, who insisted that the Spanish treasures should not be seized.

‘ The minister who neglects any just opportunity of promoting the power, or increasing the wealth, of his country, is to be considered as an enemy to his fellow-subjects; but what censure is to be passed upon him who betrays that army to a defeat, by which victory might have been obtained; impoverishes the nation whose affairs he is entrusted to transact, by those expeditions which might enrich it; who levies armies only to be exposed to pestilence, and compels them to perish in sight of their enemies, without molesting them? It cannot, surely, be denied, that such conduct may justly produce a censure more severe than that which is intended by this motion; and that he who has doomed thousands to the grave; who has co-

operated with foreign powers against his country; who has protected its enemies, and dishonoured its arms; should be deprived, not only of his honours, but his life; that he should at least be stripped of those riches which he has amassed during a long series of successful wickedness; and not barely be hindered from making new acquisitions, and increasing his wealth by multiplying his crimes.

‘ But no such penalties, Sir, are now required; those who have long stood up in opposition to him, give a proof, by the motion, that they were not incited by personal malice; since they are not provoked to propose any treasonable censure, nor have recommended what might be authorised by his own practice, an act of attainder, or a bill of pains and penalties. They desire nothing further than that the security of the nation may be restored, and the discontents of the people pacified, by his removal from that trust which he has so long abused.

‘ The discontent of the people is, in itself, a reason for agreeing to this motion, which no rhetorical vindicator of his conduct will be able to counterbalance; for since it is necessary to the prosperity of the government, that the people should believe their interest favoured, and

their liberties protected; since to imagine themselves neglected, and to be neglected in reality, must produce in them the same suspicions and the same distrust, it is the duty of every faithful subject, whom his station qualifies, to offer advice to his Sovereign, to persuade him for the preservation of his own honour, and the affection of his subjects, to remove from his councils that man whom they have long considered as the author of pernicious measures, and a favourer of arbitrary power.'

Upon a division, the motion was negatived by 290 against 106. Parliament was dissolved soon after.

CHAPTER III.

A new Parliament.—Mr. Pitt re-elected.—The Minister loses several Questions.—Resigns and is created Earl of Orford.—Parliament adjourns.—Secret Negotiation with Mr. Pulteney.—That Affair truly stated.—Lord Cobham and his Friends excluded.—The new Arrangements settled by the Earl of Orford.—Stanzas of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams explained; and the Condition upon which Sir Robert Walpole became Minister.—Duke of Argyll's expression to Mr. Pulteney.—The Nation dissatisfied.

THE minister having become extremely odious to the nation by the unpopularity of his measures; and his influence being considerably diminished, by the union of several great interests against him; he had neither weight of character, nor extent of command sufficient to secure a majority in the new Parliament; which was elected in the spring of 1741.

In this Parliament, which met on the 4th of December 1741, Mr. *Pitt* was re-elected for Old

Sarum. The first question which the minister lost was the nomination of chairman of the committee of privileges and elections, Dr. *Lee* being chosen by a majority of four, against Mr. Earle, who had been supported by himself. After losing some questions upon the decisions of the contested elections, he saw there was a confirmed majority against him; and therefore, on the 3d of February 1742, he resigned his employments, and was created Earl of *Orford*; the Parliament being at the same time adjourned, by the King's command, to the 18th of the same month.

His friends, notwithstanding his resignation, were very numerous. His personal influence, therefore, added to great experience and address, made him still formidable to his opponents, and enabled him to secure his personal safety, by counteracting their further designs against him. For this purpose he selected from amongst them such as were known to be the most ambitious of power; with these an immediate negotiation was commenced; in the result of which, his utmost wishes were accomplished. For the opposition being composed of various and heterogeneous parties, (whose interest were united for the purpose only of his destruction), the first rumour of a partial nego-

tiation gave an alarm to their leaders; and exciting such jealousies and suspicions amongst them, as ended in a general disunion, relieved him from all apprehensions of danger or inconvenience from their future exertions.

The negotiation was opened by a message from the Duke of *Newcastle*, requesting to see Mr. *Pulteney* privately, at the house of Mr. *Stone*, his Grace's secretary. Mr. *Pulteney* declined this invitation, but consented to receive the Duke at his own house, if Lord *Carteret*, afterwards Lord *Granville*, were allowed to be present at the conference. The condition was accepted, and the interview, in which the Duke was accompanied by Lord *Hardwicke*, took place the same evening.—His Grace began with informing him, that he was sent by the King with an offer to place him at the head of the Treasury. Mr. *Pulteney* resisted the temptation for himself; but equally, or perhaps better, answered the purpose of Sir *Robert Walpole*, by proposing his friend Lord *Carteret* for the office. Though the conference ended without any positive determination; yet the treaty was necessarily kept open, by the undecided proposal of Mr. *Pulteney*. But intelligence of this conference, and a thousand conjectures concerning the object of it, were industriously circulated through the town; and pro-

duced all the effects, both on public opinion, and on the spirits of the gentlemen in opposition, which the most sanguine friends and partizans of Sir *Robert Walpole* could have wished.

A second meeting of the same parties, a few days afterwards, at the same place of rendezvous, opened the eyes of the most incredulous among the members of the opposition, and completed the dissolution of an association of interests, which a more immaculate minister than Sir *Robert Walpole* might have dreaded.

A coolness having long subsisted between the Lords *Carteret* and *Cobham*, the selection of the former for those *private* conferences (which were to fix the boundaries, and lay the foundations, of the new arrangements) was such a sort of *marked exclusion* of the latter, as could not but give offence to him, and his parliamentary friends; amongst whom were Mr. *Pitt*, Mr. *Lyttelton*, the four *Grenvilles* (*Richard*, *George*, *James*, and *Thomas*), and Mr. *Waller*. Lord *Cobham*, whose private character was high, and whose reputation had been assailed, in being deprived of his post in the army, was not of a temper to bear such treatment with indifference. His friends, who felt a large share of the contempt which was shewn towards him, gave him the strongest assu-

rances of attachment and support; and immediately formed a separate party. In a short time they were joined by the Duke of *Argyll*, who, though he had taken the ordnance in the first moments of the change, quickly relented, and returned to his old friends, who in a few weeks were joined likewise by many high and respectable characters; who perceived that the nation, as well as themselves, had been deceived by a partial, imperfect, and consequently an inadequate change of the ministry.

Sir *Robert Walpole*, now Earl of *Orford*, not approving of the nomination of Lord *Carteret*, for his successor at the treasury, prevailed on the King (since Mr. *Pulteney* had refused it) to insist upon the appointment of Lord *Wilmington*, who had been Sir *Robert's* president of the council from 1732*. It was some triumph to those whose purposes had been frustrated,

* To this appointment Sir Charles Hanbury Williams alludes, in a beautiful stanza. Lord Wilmington had, upon the accession of George the Second, been offered the treasury, if he would undertake to increase the civil list from 700,000. to 800,000; but being timid, he declined the offer; upon which the offer was next made to Sir Robert Walpole, who accepted it; and from that single circumstance became minister.

Why did you cross God's good intent?

He made you for a President;

through the defection of Mr. *Pulteney*, to see him so soon baffled in his arrangement. The Duke of *Argyll* observed to him on the occasion, at a large meeting of their friends, at the *Fountain Tavern* in the Strand†, “That a grain of honesty was worth a cart-load of gold.”

Back to that station go;
Nor longer act this farce of power,
We know you miss'd the thing before,
And have not got it now.

† This meeting was held on the 12th of February 1742.—There were near 300 members of both Houses of Parliament present. Amongst them were the following: Dukes of Bedford and Argyll—Marquis of Caernarvon—Earls of Exeter, Berkshire, Chesterfield, Carlisle, Aylesbury, Shaftsbury, Litchfield, Oxford, Rockingham, Halifax, Stanhope, Macclesfield, Darnley, Barrymore, Granard—Viscounts Cobham, Falmouth, Limerick, Gage, Chetwynd—Lords Ward, Gower, Bathurst, Talbot, Strange, Andover, Guernsey, Quarendon, Percival—Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Charles Mordaunt, Sir Erasmus Philips, Sir Robert Grosvenor, Sir Edward Dering, Sir Roger Burgoyne, Sir John Hind Cotton, Sir Henry Northcote, Sir William Carew, Sir Myles Stapylton, Sir Hugh Smithson, Sir William Morris, Sir John Rushout, Sir Michael Newton, Sir Roger Twisden, Sir Robert Long, Sir Charles Wyndham, Sir Jermyn Davers, Sir James Dashwood, Sir Watkyn Williams Wynne, Sir Cordel Firebrace, Sir Edward Thomas, Sir Francis Dashwood, Sir Jacob Bouverie, Sir John Chapman, Sir Abraham Elton, Sir John Peachey, Sir William Courtney, Sir James Hamilton—Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, Mr. Gybbon, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Waller, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Fazakerley, Mr. Mellish, Mr. Alderman Heathcote, Mr. Bance, &c. &c.

The Earl of *Harrington*, who had been Sir *Robert*'s secretary of state, was made president of the council. Lord *Carteret* accepted of Lord *Harrington*'s seals; and Mr. *Sandys* was made chancellor of the exchequer, with a new board of treasury. A new board of admiralty, with the Earl of *Whinchelsea* at the head, were all the alterations of any consequence that were made.

The disappointment of the nation, at this trifling change of a few men, was greater than can be described. Many of the most respectable parts of the community were provoked and exasperated to the use of the bitterest language, which could express their execration and abhorrence of the junction that was thus formed between Mr. *Pulteney*, and the friends of the late minister.

The purpose of the meeting was, to consider of what was expedient to be done in the present critical conjuncture. *But it was too late; the arrangements were settled before the meeting was called.*

It is to *this* meeting that Sir Charles Hanbury Williams alludes, in one of his odes to Mr. Pulteney; where, invoking the Muse to display his hero's merit, he says,

Then enlarge on his cunning and wit;

Say, how he harangued at the Fountain;

Say, how the old patriots were bit,

And a mouse was produc'd by a mountain.

CHAPTER. IV.

The New Ministry charged with having bargained for the safety of the Earl of Orford.—Motion for an inquiry into the Earl of Orford's conduct.—Mr. Pitt's speech in support of that motion.—Motion lost.—Second motion limiting the inquiry to the last ten years.—Mr. Pitt's speech in support of this motion.—The inquiry defeated by a parliamentary manœuvre.

A STRONG charge was brought against the new ministry by their opponents, who affirmed, in the most direct and positive terms, that Mr. Pulteney had first, and that his friends had afterwards, *bargained* with the Court for the safety of the Earl of Orford; that it was expressly on that condition they were admitted into office; and by that tenure *only*, they held their employments; that such bargain was a sale of the public confidence, and a total dereliction of principle; that there was a treason against the people as well as against the crown, and that this was the superlative degree of that treason. And in order to put these assertions to the test, a motion was made in the House of Commons, on the 9th of

March 1742, by Lord *Limerick* (whose son was created Earl of *Clanbrassil*), for an inquiry into the conduct of the late administration, during the last *twenty years*. In support of this motion Mr. *Pitt* spoke in reply to Mr. *Pelham*, who had opposed it, and said, "That it would considerably shorten the debate if gentlemen would keep close to the argument, and not run into long harangues and flowers of rhetoric, which might be introduced upon any other subject as well as the present:" to which Mr. *Pitt* replied:

‘What the gentlemen of the other side mean by long harangues or flowers of rhetoric, I shall not pretend to guess; but if they make no use of anything of that kind, it is no very good proof of their sincerity; for a man who speaks from his heart, and is sincerely affected with the subject he speaks on, as every honest man must be when he speaks in the cause of his country; such a man, I say, falls naturally into expressions which may be called flowers of rhetoric, and therefore deserves as little to be charged with affectation as the most stupid serjeant at law that ever spoke for a guinea fee,

‘The gentlemen who oppose this motion seem to mistake the difference between a motion for an impeachment, and a motion for an inquiry.

If any member of this House were to stand up in his place, and move for impeaching a minister, he would be obliged to charge him with some particular crimes, and produce some proof, or to declare that he was ready to prove the facts; but any gentleman may move for an inquiry without any particular allegation, and without offering any proof, or declaring that he is ready to prove, because the very design of an inquiry is to find out particular facts and particular proofs. The general circumstances of things, or general rumours without doors, are a sufficient foundation for such a motion, and for the House agreeing to it when it is made. This, Sir, has always been the practice, and has been the foundation of almost all the inquiries that were ever set on foot in this House, especially those that have been carried on by secret and select committees.—What other foundation was there for the secret committee appointed in the year 1694 (to go no further back), to inquire into, and inspect the books and accounts of the East India Company and Chamber of London?—Nothing but a general rumour that some corrupt practice had been made use of. What was the foundation of the inquiry in the year 1714? Did the hon. gentleman who moved for appointing that secret committee charge the former administration with any particular crimes?—Did

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he offer any proofs, or declare that he was ready to prove any thing? It is said, the measures pursued by that administration were condemned by a great majority of that House of Commons. What, Sir! were those ministers condemned before they were heard? Could any gentleman be so unjust as to pass sentence, even in his own mind, upon a measure before he had inquired into it? He might perhaps dislike the treaty of Utrecht, but upon inquiry it might appear to be the best that could be obtained; and it has since been so far justified, that it is at least as good, if not better, than any treaty we have made since that time.

‘ Sir, it was not the treaty of Utrecht, nor any measure that administration openly pursued, that was the foundation, or the cause, of an inquiry into their conduct. It was the loud complaints of a great party against them, and the general suspicion of their having carried on treasonable negociations in favour of the Pretender, and for defeating the Protestant succession; and the inquiry was set on foot in order to discover those practices, if there were any such, and to obtain proper evidence for convicting the offenders. The same argument holds with regard to the inquiry into the management of the South Sea Company in the year 1721. When

that affair was first moved in the House, by Mr. *Neville*, he did not, he could not, charge those directors, or any of them, upon any particular proofs. His motion, which was, That the directors of the South Sea Company should forthwith lay before the House an account of their proceedings, was founded upon the general circumstances of things, the distress brought upon the public credit of the nation, and the general and loud complaints without doors. This motion indeed, reasonable as it was, we know was opposed by a part of the ministry at that time, and in particular by two brothers who have composed a part of the ministry ever since; but their opposition raised such a warmth in the House, that they were glad to give it up, and never afterwards durst directly oppose that inquiry. I wish I could now see the same zeal for public justice. I am sure the circumstances of affairs deserve it. Our public credit was then, indeed, brought into distress; but now the nation itself, nay not only the nation, but all its dependencies, are brought into the most imminent danger.

‘ This, Sir, is admitted, even by those who oppose this motion; and if they have ever lately conversed with those who dare speak their minds, they must admit, that the murmurs of the people against the conduct of the ministers,

are now as general and as loud as ever they were upon any occasion; but the misfortune is, that gentlemen who are in office seldom converse with any but such are in office, or want to be in office; and such men, let them think what they will, will always applaud their superiors; consequently, gentlemen who are in administration, or in any office under it, can rarely know the voice of the people. The voice of this House was formerly, I shall grant, and always ought to be, the voice of the people. If new Parliaments were more frequent, and few placemen, and no pensioners admitted, it would be so still; but if long Parliaments be continued, and a corrupt influence should prevail, not only at elections, but in this House, the voice of this House will generally be very different from, nay often directly contrary to, the voice of the people. However, as this is not, I believe, the case at present, I hope that there is a majority who know what is the voice of the people; and if it be admitted by all, that the nation is at present in the utmost distress and danger, and admitted by a majority, that the voice of the people is loud against the late conduct of ministers, this motion must be agreed to.

‘ Sir, this House is called The Grand Inquest of the Nation; and as such, it is our duty to

inquire into the management of every department of public affairs, both abroad and at home. It is not necessary, upon every occasion, to establish a secret committee. This is never necessary but when the subjects to be brought before them, are supposed to be of such a nature as ought to be kept secret.

‘ It is said by some gentlemen, that by this inquiry we shall be in danger of discovering the secrets of our government to our enemies. This argument, Sir, by proving too much, proves nothing at all. If it were admitted, it would always have been, and for ever will be, an argument against our inquiring into any affair in which our government can be supposed to have a concern. Our inquiries would then be confined to the conduct of inferior custom-house officers and excisemen. Every gentleman must see that this would be the consequence of admitting such an argument; but besides, it is false in fact, and contrary to experience. We have had many parliamentary inquiries into the conduct of ministers of state, and yet I defy any one to shew that any state affair was thereby discovered, which ought to have been concealed, or that our affairs, either abroad or at home, ever suffered by such a discovery. If his Majesty should, by message, acquaint us, that some

of the papers sealed up, and laid before us, required the utmost secrecy, we might refer them to a secret committee. By this method I hope the danger of a discovery would be effectually removed; therefore this danger cannot be a good argument against a parliamentary inquiry.

‘The other objection, Sir, is really surprising, because it is founded upon a circumstance which, in all former times, has been admitted as a strong argument for an immediate inquiry. The hon. gentlemen are so ingenuous as to confess that our affairs, both abroad and at home, are at present in the utmost distress; but, say they, you ought to free yourselves from this distress, before you inquire how, or by what means, you were brought into it. Sir, according to this way of arguing, a minister that has plundered and betrayed his country, and fears being called to an account in Parliament, has nothing to do but to involve his country in a dangerous war, or some other great distress, in order to prevent an inquiry into his conduct; because he may be dead before that war is at an end, or that distress got over.—Would not this conduct be similar to that of an incendiary, who, after he had plundered the house, set it on fire, that he might escape in the confusion? It is really astonishing to hear such an argument

seriously urged in this House; but, say these gentlemen, if you found yourself upon a precipice, would you stand to inquire how you was led there, before you considered how to get off? No, Sir; but if a guide had led me there, I should very probably be provoked, to throw him over, before I thought of any thing else; at least I am sure, I should not trust to the same guide for bringing me off.

‘ We have been, for near twenty years, under the guidance, I may truly say, of one man, or one minister. We now at last find ourselves upon a dangerous precipice.—Ought not we then immediately to inquire whether we have been led upon this precipice by his ignorance or wickedness, and if by either, to take care not to trust to his guidance any longer? For, though he is removed from the treasury board, he is not removed from the King’s ear, nor probably will, unless it be by our advice.

‘ Sir, the distress we are in at home is evidently owing to our having been led into many unnecessary expences.

‘ The distress and danger we are in abroad, are evidently owing to the misconduct of our war with Spain; and to the little confidence our

allies have had in our councils. This last is so obvious, that I should not have mentioned it, if an hon. gentleman on the other side had not entered into a particular justification of most of our late measures, both abroad and at home.

‘This having been done by the honourable gentleman, I hope I shall be excused in following him; beginning, as he did, with the measures taken for punishing the South Sea directors, and restoring public credit, after the terrible shock it met with in the year 1720.

‘As those measures, Sir, were among the earliest of our late, and I fear still, our present minister; and as the committee proposed, if agreed to, will probably consist of one-and-twenty, I wish the motion had been for one year further back, that the number of years might have corresponded with the number of inquirers, and that it might have comprehended the first of those measures; for as it stands, it will not comprehend the methods taken for punishing the directors, nor the first regulation made for restoring public credit; and with regard to both, perhaps some practices might be discovered that would deserve a much severer punishment than any which those directors met with. Considering the number of manœuvres,

made use of by the directors and their agents, for alluring the people to their ruin, I am not a little surprised to hear it now said, that their punishment was always thought too severe. Justice by the lump was the phrase given to it, not because it was thought too severe, but because it was a piece of cunning made use of to screen the greater offenders.

‘As to the restoration of public credit, that was accomplished by the conduct of the public, not by the wisdom of ministers. Was it wise to remit to the South Sea Company the whole seven millions, which they had solemnly engaged to pay to the public? It might as well be said, that a private man’s giving away a great part of his estate to those who no way deserved it, would be a wise method of reviving or establishing his credit: If these seven millions had been distributed among the poorer sort of annuitants, it would have been both generous and charitable; but to give it among the proprietors in general, was neither generous nor just, because most of them deserved no favour from the public; for as the proceedings of the directors were authorised by general courts, those who were then the proprietors were in some measure accessory to the frauds of the directors, and therefore deserved to have been punished, rather than re-

warded, because every one of them who continued to hold stock in that company got near 50 *per cent.* added to his capital, most part of which arose from the high price annuitants were by act of parliament obliged to take stock at, and was therefore a most flagrant piece of injustice done to the annuitants.

‘ Another act of injustice, which I believe we may ascribe to the same cause, relates to those who were engaged in heavy contracts for stock or subscriptions, many of whom groan under the load to this day; for after we had, by act of parliament, quite altered the nature, though not the name, of the stock they had bought, and made it much less valuable than it was when they engaged to pay a high price for it, I must think it an act of public injustice to leave them liable to be prosecuted at law for the whole money they had engaged to pay.

‘ Then, Sir, with regard to the extraordinary grants made to the civil list, the very reason given by the hon. gentleman for justifying those grants, is a strong reason for an immediate inquiry. If there have arisen any considerable charges upon that revenue, let us see what those charges are; let us examine whether or no they were necessary. We have the more reason to do

this, because the revenue settled upon his late Majesty's civil list, was at least as great as was settled either upon King William or Queen Anne. Besides, there is a general rumour without doors, that the civil list is now greatly in arrear, which, if true, renders an inquiry absolutely necessary; for it is inconsistent with the honour and dignity of the crown of these kingdoms, to be in arrear to its tradesmen and servants; and it is the duty of this House to take care that the revenue which we have settled for supporting the honour and dignity of our crown, shall not be misapplied. If former parliaments have failed in this respect, they must be blamed, though they cannot be punished; but we ought now to atone for their neglect, and we may punish those, if they can be discovered, who have been the cause of any misapplicaton.

‘ I come now, in course, to the excise scheme, which the hon. gentleman says ought to be forgiven, because it was easily given up. Sir, it was not easily given up. The promoter of that scheme did not easily give it up; he gave it up with sorrow, with tears in his eyes, when he saw, and not till he saw it impossible to carry it through the House*. Did not his majority de-

* See this matter more fully and more accurately explained in Chapter XLI.

crease upon every division? It was almost certain, that if he had pushed in any further, the majority would have turned against him. His sorrow shewed his disappointment; and his disappointment shewed that his design was higher than that of preventing frauds in the customs. He was, at that time, so sensible of the influence of excise laws and excisemen with regard to elections, and of the great occasion he should have for that sort of influence at the next general election, which was then approaching, that it is impossible to suppose he had not that influence in view; and if he had, it was a most wicked attempt against our constitution; therefore he deserved the treatment he met with from the people. Perhaps there were none but what gentlemen are pleased to call mob concerned in burning him in effigy; but as the mob consists chiefly in children, journeymen, and servants, who speak the sentiments of their parents and masters, we may thence judge of the sentiments of the better sort of people.

‘The hon. gentleman said, these were all the measures of a domestic nature that could be found fault with, because none other were mentioned in this debate. Sir, he has already heard a reason why no other wrong measures should be particularly mentioned in this debate. If it were necessary, many others might be mentioned. Is

not the keeping up so numerous an army, in time of peace, to be found fault with? Is not the fitting out so many expensive squadrons, for no purpose, to be found fault with? Are not the encroachments made upon the sinking fund, the reviving the salt duty, the rejecting many useful bills and motions in Parliament, and many other domestic measures, to be found fault with? The weakness, and wickedness, of these measures have often been demonstrated. Their ill consequences were foretold, and those consequences are now become visible by our distress.

‘Now, Sir, with regard to the foreign measures which the hon. gentleman has attempted to justify: The treaty of Hanover deserves, indeed, to be first mentioned, because from thence arises the danger to which Europe is now exposed; and it is impossible to assign a reason for our entering into that treaty, without supposing that we then resolved to be revenged on the Emperor for refusing to grant us some favour in Germany. It is in vain now to insist upon the secret engagements entered into by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, as the cause of that treaty. Time has fully shewn that there never were any such engagements; and his late Majesty’s speech from the throne cannot here be admitted as any evidence of the fact. Every one

knows, that in Parliament the King's speech is always considered as the speech of the minister; and surely a minister is not to be allowed to bring his own speech in evidence of his own justification.

'At the time this treaty was entered into, we wanted nothing from the Emperor upon our own account. The abolition of the Ostend company was a demand we had no right to make, nor was it essentially our interest to insist upon it, because that company would have been more prejudicial to the interests of both the French and Dutch East-India trades than ours; and if it had been a point that concerned us much, we might probably have gained it, by acceding to the Vienna treaty between the Emperor and Spain, or by guaranteeing the Pragmatic Sanction, which we afterwards did, in the most absolute manner, without any consideration at all. We wanted nothing from Spain but a departure from the pretence she had just begun, or, I believe, hardly begun, to set up, in an express manner, with regard to searching and seizing our ships in the American seas; and this we did not obtain by the treaty of Seville. By that treaty we obtained nothing; but we united the courts of France and Spain, and laid the foundation of a new breach between the courts of Spain and Vienna,

‘ I shall grant, Sir, our ministers, appear to have been fond and diligent enough in negotiating, and writing letters and memorials to the court of Spain; but by all I have looked into, it appears they never rightly understood the point they were negotiating about; and as they suffered themselves to be amused, (which they confess), with fair promises for ten years together, whilst in the mean time our merchants were plundered, and our trade interrupted, we ought to inquire into this affair; for if it should appear they allowed themselves to be amused with such answers as no man of honour, in such circumstances, would have taken, nor any man of common sense would have been amused with; they must have had some hidden motive for allowing themselves to be thus imposed upon: This motive we may perhaps discover by an inquiry.

‘ But, in excuse for their conduct, it is said, our ministers had a laudable shyness of involving their country in a war. Sir, this shyness could not proceed from any regard to their country, because it already was involved in a war with Spain; who was carrying on a war against our trade, and that in the most insulting manner, during the whole time of negotiation. It was this very shyness, or at least making the court of Spain too sensible of it, that at last made it ne-

cessary for us to commence that war. If the British minister had at first insisted peremptorily upon an explicit answer, Spain would have given up the pretence she had just set up; but by the long experience we allowed her, she found the fruits of that pretence so plentiful and savory, that she thought them worth risking a war for; and the damage we had sustained became so considerable, that it was worth contending for. Nothing, Sir, ever demanded more a parliamentary inquiry than our conduct in the war. The only part of it we have inquired into, we have already censured and condemned. Is not this a good reason for inquiring into every other part of it? Disappointment and want of success have always, till now, occasioned a parliamentary inquiry. Inactivity, of itself, is a sufficient cause for an inquiry. We have now all these reasons combined. Our admirals abroad desire nothing more; because they are conscious that our inactivity and want of success would appear not to be owing to their conduct, but to the conduct of those who sent them out.

‘I cannot conclude, Sir, without taking notice of the two other foreign measures mentioned by the hon. gentleman. Our conduct in the year of 1734, between the Emperor and France; which may be explained, but cannot be excused.

Ever since the accession of the late minister we seem to have been at enmity with the House of Austria.—Our guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction seems to confirm it, because we entered into it when, as hath since appeared, we had no mind to perform our engagement; and by that false guarantee induced the Emperor to admit the Spanish troops into Italy, which he would not otherwise have done. The preparations we made in that year, the armies we raised, and the fleet we fitted out, were not to guard against the event of the war abroad, but against the event of the ensuing election at home. The new commissions, the promotions, and the money laid out in these preparations, were of excellent use at the time of a general election.

‘ I am surprised, Sir, to hear the hon. gentleman now say, that we gave up nothing, or got any thing by the scandalous convention with Spain. Did we not give up the freedom of our trade and navigation by submitting it to be regulated by plenipotentiaries? Can freedom be regulated, without being confined, and consequently in some part destroyed? Did not we give up Georgia, or a considerable part of it, by submitting to have new limits settled by plenipotentiaries? Did we not give up all the reparation of honour we had so just a title to insist

on? Did we not give up all reparation of the damage we had suffered, amounting to five or six hundred thousand pounds, for the paltry sum of twenty-seven thousand pounds? For this was all that Spain promised to pay, after deducting the sixty-eight thousand pounds which we, by the declaration annexed to that treaty, allowed her to insist on having from our South Sea company, under the penalty of stripping them of the Assiento contract, and all the privileges they were thereby intitled to. Even this sum of twenty-seven thousand pounds, or more, they had before acknowledged to be due, on account of ships they allowed to have been unjustly taken, and had actually sent orders for their restitution; so that by this infamous treaty we got nothing, and gave up every thing; and therefore, in my opinion, the honour of this nation can never be retrieved, unless the advisers and authors of it be censured and punished, which cannot regularly be done without a parliamentary inquiry.

‘By these pusillanimous measures, we are become the ridicule of every court in Europe, and have lost the confidence of all our allies. By these we have encouraged France to extend her ambitious views, and now at last to attempt carrying them into execution. By bad œconomy

and extravagance in our domestic measures, we have brought ourselves into such distress at home, that we are almost utterly incapable of entering into a war. By weakness, or wickedness, in our foreign measures, we have brought the affairs of Europe into such distress, that it is almost impossible for us to avoid entering into a war. By these means we have been brought upon a dangerous precipice, on which we now find ourselves; and shall we trust our being led safely off to the same guide who has led us on? Sir, it is impossible for him to lead us off; it is impossible for us to get off, without first recovering that confidence among our allies, which this nation formerly used to have. This we cannot do, as long as they suppose that our councils are influenced by our late minister; and this they will suppose as long as he has access to the King's closet, and his conduct remains uninquired into, and uncensured. It is not, therefore, a revenge for past sufferings, but a desire to prevent future, that makes me so sanguine for this inquiry. Let us be as merciful as we will, as any man can reasonably desire, when we come to pronounce sentence; but sentence we must pronounce; and for this purpose we must inquire, unless we are resolved to sacrifice our own liberties, and the liberties of Europe, to the preservation of one guilty man.

The House divided: For the motion, 242—
against it, 244.

The fate of this motion was called a confirmation of the veracity of the charge brought against the new ministry, that they had compounded for the safety of the late minister.—
Mr. *Pulteney* was extremely mortified at this miscarriage. And as soon as Mr. *Sandys*, and some others, were returned from their re-elections, the motion was made again, on the 23d of March, by Lord *Limerick*; but it was confined to only the last *ten* years of the late administration. Mr. *Pitt* spoke in support of this motion, although altered to half the period. His speech, on this occasion, was in reply to Mr. *George Cooke*, of Harefield, who was just come into Parliament. He began with saying:

‘As the hon. gentleman who spoke last, has not been long in the House, we may candidly believe there is some sincerity in the professions he makes of his being ready to agree to a parliamentary inquiry, when he sees cause, and a convenient time for it; but if he knew how often those professions have been made by those who, on all occasions, have opposed every kind of inquiry, he would save himself the trouble of making any such, because they are believed to

be sincere by very few. He may, it is true, have no occasion, upon his own account, to be afraid of an inquiry of any sort; but when a gentleman has contracted a friendship, or any of his near relations have contracted a friendship for a man who may be brought into danger by an inquiry, it is very natural to suppose that such a gentleman's opposition to an inquiry does not proceed entirely from motives of a public nature; and if that gentleman follows the advice of some of his friends, I very much question if he will ever see cause, or a convenient time, for an inquiry into the conduct of the late minister.

As a parliamentary inquiry must always be founded upon suspicions, as well as facts, it will always be easy to find reasons or pretences for averring those suspicions to be groundless; and upon the principle that a parliamentary inquiry must necessarily lay open the secrets of our government, no time can ever be proper or convenient for such an inquiry, because it is impossible to suppose a time when our government can have no secrets of importance to the nation.

'This, Sir, would be a most convenient doctrine for ministers, because it would put an end to all parliamentary inquiries into the conduct of our public affairs; and therefore, when I hear it urged, and so much insisted upon by a certain

set of gentlemen in this House, I must suppose their hopes to be very extensive. I must suppose them to expect that they and their posterity will for ever continue to be ministers. But this doctrine has been so often contradicted by experience, that I am surprised to hear gentlemen insist upon it. Even this very session has afforded us a convincing proof how little foundation there is for saying that a parliamentary inquiry must necessarily discover the secrets of our government. Surely in a war with Spain, which must be carried on chiefly by sea, if our government have any secrets, the lords of the admiralty must be intrusted with the most important of them; yet we have, in this very session, and without any secret committees, made an inquiry into the conduct of the lords commissioners of the admiralty. We have not only inquired into their conduct, but we have censured it in such a manner as hath put an end to the same commissioners being any longer entrusted with that branch of the public business. Has that inquiry discovered any of the secrets of our government? On the contrary, the committee found they had no occasion to probe into any of the secrets of government. They found cause enough for censure without it: and none of the commissioners pretended to justify their

conduct by papers containing secrets which ought not to be discovered.

‘ This, Sir, is so recent and so strong a proof of there being no necessary connection between a parliamentary inquiry and a discovery of secrets which it behoves the nation to conceal, that I hope gentlemen will no longer insist upon this danger as an argument against the inquiry now proposed, which, of all others, is the least liable to objection. The first commissioner of the treasury has nothing to do with the application of secret service money: He is only to take care that it be regularly issued from his office. As to the particular application, it belongs to the secretaries of state, or such other persons as his Majesty shall employ; so that we cannot suppose the inquiry proposed will discover any secrets relating to the application of that money, unless the noble lord has acted as secretary of state, as well as first commissioner of the treasury; or unless a great part of the money drawn out for secret services, has been delivered to himself, or to persons employed by him, and applied by him or them towards gaining a corrupt influence in Parliament, or at elections. Both these, indeed, he is most grievously suspected of, and both are secrets which it behoves him very much to have concealed; but it equally behoves the nation to

have them both revealed. His country and he are, I grant, in this cause, equally, though oppositely, concerned; for the safety or ruin of one or the other depends upon the fate of the question; and, in my opinion, the violent opposition made to this motion adds great strength to the suspicion.

‘ I shall admit, Sir, that the noble lord whose conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, was one of his Majesty’s most hon. privy council, and that consequently he must have had a share at least in advising all the measures which have been pursued, both abroad and at home; but I cannot admit, that therefore an inquiry into his conduct must necessarily occasion a discovery of any secrets that may be of dangerous consequence to the nation; because we are not to inquire into the measures themselves, or into the wisdom and uprightness of them, and consequently can have no necessity to search into any of the government’s secrets relating to them. This has nothing to do with an inquiry into his conduct; but there are several suspicions spread abroad relating to his conduct as a privy counsellor, which, if true, would be of the last importance to the nation to have discovered. It has been strongly asserted, that he was not only a privy counsellor, but had usurped the whole and

sole direction of his Majesty's privy council. It has been asserted, that he gave the Spanish court the first hint of the unjust claim they afterwards set up, against our South Sea company, which was one of the chief causes of the war between the two nations. And it has been asserted that this very minister has given advice to the French what measures to take upon several occasions, in order to bring our court into their measures; particularly, that he advised them to send the numerous army they have this last summer sent into Westphalia. What truth there is in these assertions, I shall not pretend to answer. The facts are of such a nature, and they must have been perpetrated with so much caution and secrecy, that it will be difficult to bring them to light, even by a parliamentary inquiry; but the very suspicion is ground sufficient for commencing such inquiry, and for pursuing it with sincerity and alacrity.

‘ I will agree with the hon. gentleman, that if we are convinced, or suspect the public measures to be wrong, we ought to inquire into them, even though they are not much complained of by the people without doors; but I cannot agree with him in thinking, that notwithstanding a minister's being complained of by the people in general, we ought not to inquire into his con-

duct, unless we are ourselves convinced that his measures have been wrong. Without an inquiry we can no more determine this question, than a judge can declare a man innocent of any crime laid to his charge, without a trial.—Common fame is a sufficient ground for an inquisition at common law; and, for the same reason, the general voice of the people of England ought always to be looked on as a sufficient ground for a parliamentary inquiry.

‘ But, say gentlemen, what is this minister accused of? What crime is laid to his charge? For unless some crime is stated to have been committed, no inquiry ought to be set on foot. Sir, the ill posture of our affairs, both abroad and at home, the melancholy situation we are in; the distresses we are now reduced to; are sufficient causes for an inquiry, even supposing he were accused of no particular crime or misconduct. The nation lies bleeding, perhaps expiring. The balance of power has received a deadly blow. Shall we acknowledge this to be the case, and shall we not inquire whether it has happened by mischance, or by the misconduct of our minister? Before the treaty of Utrecht, it was the general opinion, that in a few years of peace we should be able to pay off most of our debts. We have now been near thirty years in

peace, at least we have never been engaged in any war but what we unnecessarily brought upon ourselves, and yet our debts are nearly the same.

‘Is there not a suspicion that the public money has been applied towards gaining a corrupt influence at elections? Is it not become a common expression to say, “The floodgates of the treasury are opened against a general election?” Will any gentleman say this is not a crime, when even private corruption has such high penalties inflicted upon it by express statute? A minister that commits this crime, and makes use of the public money for that purpose, adds breach of trust to the crime of corruption; and as the crime, when committed by him, is of much more dangerous consequence than when committed by a private man, it becomes more properly the object of a parliamentary inquiry, and ought to be more severely punished.

“This shews the insignificancy of the act mentioned by the hon. gentleman, with regard to that sort of corruption which is called bribery; and with regard to the other sort of corruption, which consists in giving or taking away posts, and refusing preferments, which depend upon the will of the crown; this act is still more in-

significant, because it is not necessary ; it would even be ridiculous in a minister to tell any man that he gave him a place or refused him preferment, on account of his voting for or against any ministerial measure in Parliament, or any ministerial candidate at an election. If he makes it his constant rule never to give a place, or preferment, but to those who vote for his measures and his candidates, and makes examples of dismissing those who vote otherwise, it will have the same effect as when he declares it openly.—Will any gentleman say, that this has not been the practice of the minister ? Has he not declared, in the face of this House, that he will continue to make this his practice ? And will not this have the same effect as if he went separately and distinctly to every man, and told him in express terms ; “ Sir, if you vote for such a measure, or such a candidate, you shall have the first place or preferment in the gift of the crown ; if you vote otherwise, you must not expect to keep what you have.”

‘ Gentlemen cry, What ! will you take from the crown the power of preferring or cashiering the officers of our army ? No, Sir ; this is neither the design, nor will it be the effect, of our agreeing to this motion. The King has, at present an absolute power of preferring or cashiering the

officers of our army. It is a prerogative he may make use of for the benefit of the public; but, like other prerogatives, it may be made a wrong use of; and the minister is answerable to Parliament when it is.

‘I shall conclude, Sir, with a few remarks upon the last argument made use of against the inquiry proposed. It has been said, that the minister delivered in his accounts annually; that those accounts have been annually passed and approved of by Parliament; and that therefore it would be unjust to call him now to a general account, because the vouchers may be lost, or many transactions have escaped his memory. ’Tis true, Sir, estimates and accounts have been annually delivered in. The forms of the House made that necessary; but were any of those estimates or accounts ever properly inquired into? Were not all questions for that purpose rejected by the minister’s friends in Parliament? Has not the Parliament always taken them upon trust, and passed them without examination? Can such a superficial passing, to call it no worse, be deemed a reason for not calling him to a new and general account? If the steward to an infant’s estate should annually, for twenty years together, deliver in his accounts to the guardians; and if the guardians, through negligence, or for

a share of the plunder, should annually pass his accounts without any examination, or at least without any objection, would that be a reason for saying, that it would be unjust in the infant to call his steward to an account when he came of age? especially if that steward had built and furnished sumptuous palaces, and had, during the whole time, lived at a much greater expence than his visible income could afford, and yet nevertheless had amassed great riches. The public, Sir, is always in a state of infancy; therefore no prescription can be pleaded against it, nor even a general release, if there appears the least cause to suspect that it was surreptitiously obtained. Public vouchers ought always to remain upon record; nor ought there to be any public expence without a proper voucher; therefore, the case of the public is still stronger than that of any individual. Thus the hon. gentleman who made use of this objection must see of how little avail it can be in the case now before us; and consequently I hope we shall have his concurrence in the question.'

This motion was indeed agreed to, and a committee was appointed; but the measure was rendered abortive by a parliamentary manœuvre. Several of the persons brought before the committee to be examined, refused to answer, urg-

ing, that by their answers they might possibly criminate themselves. This objection being reported to the House, a bill was immediately brought in and passed, to indemnify all persons for the discoveries they made before the committee. When this bill came into the House of Lords, Lord *Carteret* opposed it most violently, and the bill was thrown out. Some of the ministerial party in the House of Commons affected to be very angry; but all proceedings dropt, and the Earl of *Orford* continued undisturbed during the remainder of his life.

CHAPTER V.

Lord Carteret's ascendancy in the Closet.—Enters into the German measures.—Takes the Hanoverian Troops into British pay.—Mr. Pitt's speech against that measure.—Death of Lord Wilmington, and Mr. Pelham's accession to the Treasury.—Mr. Pitt's speech against the address, at the commencement of the Session, after the Battle of Dettingen.—Mr. Pitt's speech against voting money for a British Army to serve in Flanders.—The whole kingdom applauds his opposition in Parliament.—The Duchess Dowager of Marlborough leaves him a handsome legacy.

LORD Carteret, by adopting the politics of the closet, became a favourite in it. He entered warmly into the measures of the continent, particularly those in support of the House of Austria against France, for which purpose he took 16,000 Hanoverian troops into British pay, and marched them into the Low Countries. Upon the motion for granting the money for the payment of these troops, on the 10th of December 1742, there was a long debate, in which Mr. Pitt

spoke against the motion, in reply to Mr. *Henry Fox*, at that time surveyor of the board of works, and afterwards Lord *Holland*.

‘ If the gentlemen, said Mr. *Pitt*, who have spoke in support of this motion, are, as they pretend, determined to abandon their present sentiments as soon as any better measures are proposed, the ministry will quickly be deprived of their ablest defenders; for I think the measures which have hitherto been pursued, so weak and pernicious, that scarcely any alteration can be proposed that will not be for the advantage of the nation.

‘ They have already been informed there was no necessity for hiring auxiliary troops, since it does not yet appear that either justice or policy required us to engage in the quarrels of the continent, that there was any need of forming an army in the Low Countries, or that in order to form an army auxiliaries were necessary.

‘ But, not to dwell upon disputable questions, I think it may be justly concluded, that the measures of our ministry have been ill concerted, because it is undoubtedly wrong to squander the public money without effect, and to pay armies

only to be a shew to our friends, and a jest to our enemies.

‘ The troops of Hanover, whom we are now expected to pay, marched into the Low Countries indeed, and still remain in the same places; they marched to the place most distant from the enemy, least in danger of an attack, and most strongly fortified, if any attack had been designed; nor have any claim to be paid, but that they left their own country for a place of greater security.

‘ It is always reasonable to judge of the future by the past, and therefore it is probable that the services of these troops will not, next year, be of equal importance with that for which they are now to be paid: And I shall not be surprised, though the opponents of the ministry should be challenged, after such another glorious campaign, to propose better men, and told that the money of this nation cannot be more properly employed than in hiring Hanoverians to eat and sleep.

‘ But, to prove yet more particularly that better measures may be taken, and that more useful troops may be retained, and that therefore the hon. gentleman may be expected to quit

those to whom they now adhere, I shall shew that, in hiring the forces of Hanover, we have obstructed our own designs; that we have, instead of assisting the Queen of Hungary, withdrawn part of the allies from her, and that we have burthened the nation with troops from which no service can be reasonably expected.

‘ The advocates for the ministry have, on this occasion, affected to speak of the balance of power, the Pragmatic Sanction, and the preservation of the Queen of Hungary, not only as if they were to be the chief care of Great Britain, which, though easily controvertible, might perhaps, in compliance with long prejudices, be admitted; but as if they were to be the care of Great Britain alone; as if the power of France were formidable to no other people; as if no other part of the world would be injured, by becoming a prey to an universal monarchy, and being subjected to an arbitrary government of a French deputy; by being drained of its inhabitants, only to extend the conquests of its masters, and to make other nations equally miserable; and by being oppressed with exorbitant taxes, levied by military executions, and employed only in supporting the state of its oppressors. They dwell upon the importance of public faith, and the necessity of an exact observation of treaties, as if

the Pragmatic Sanction had been signed by no other potentate than the King of Great Britain; or as if the public faith were to be obligatory to us only.

‘ That we should inviolably observe our treaties, and observe them though every other nation should disregard them; that we should shew an example of fidelity to mankind, and stand firm, though we should stand alone, in the practice of virtue, I shall readily allow; and therefore I am far from advising that we should recede from our stipulations, whatever we may suffer by adhering to them.

‘ But surely that for the same reason we observe our own stipulations, we ought to excite other powers likewise to the observation of theirs. The Pragmatic Sanction was confirmed not only by the King of Great Britain, but by the Elector of Hanover, who is therefore equally obliged to defend the House of Austria against the attacks of any foreign power, and to send his proportion of troops to support the Queen of Hungary.

‘ Whether these troops have been sent, those whose province obliges them to have some knowledge with foreign affairs can better inform the House than I; but since we have not heard them

mentioned in this debate, and have found by experience that none of the merits of that Electorate are passed over in silence, it may, I think, fairly be concluded, that the distresses of the Queen of Hungary have yet received no alleviation from her alliance with Hanover; that her complaints have moved no compassion at that court, nor the justice of her cause obtained any regard.

‘To what can be imputed this negligence of treaties, this disregard of justice, this defect of compassion, but to the pernicious counsels of those men who have advised his Majesty to hire to Great Britain those troops which he should have employed in the assistance of the Queen of Hungary? for it is not to be imagined that his Majesty has more or less regard to justice as King of Great Britain than as Elector of Hanover; or that he would not have sent his proportion of troops to the Austrian army, had not the temptation of greater profit been industriously laid before him.

‘But this is not all that may be urged against this conduct: For, can we imagine that the power of France is less, or that her designs are less formidable to Hanover than to Great Britain? Or is it less necessary for the security of Hanover

that the House of Austria should be re-established in its former grandeur, and enabled to support the liberties of Europe against the bold attempts for universal monarchy?

‘If, therefore, our assistance be an act of honesty, and granted in consequence of treaties, why may it not equally be required of Hanover? And if it be an act of generosity, why should this nation alone be obliged to sacrifice her own interest to that of others? Or why should the Elector of Hanover exert his liberality at the expence of Great Britain?

‘It is now too apparent, that this great, this powerful, this formidable kingdom, is considered only as a province to a despicable Electorate; and that, in consequence of a scheme formed long ago, and invariably pursued, these troops are hired only to drain this unhappy nation of its money. That they have hitherto been of no use to Great Britain or to Austria, is evident beyond controversy; and therefore it is plain that they are retained only for the purpose of Hanover.

‘How much reason the transactions of every year have given for suspecting this ridiculous, ungrateful, and perfidious partiality, it is not necessary to mention. I doubt not but most of

those who sit in this House can recollect a great number of instances, from the purchase of part of the Swedish dominions, to the contract which we are now called upon to ratify. I hope few have forgotten the memorable stipulation for the Hessian troops; or the forces of the Duke of *Wolfenbittel*, which we were scarcely to march beyond the verge of their own country; or the ever-memorable treaty of which the tendency is discovered in the name*. The treaty by which we disunited ourselves from Austria, destroyed that building which we may perhaps now endeavour, without success, to raise again; and weakened the only power which it was our interest to strengthen.

‘To dwell upon all the instances of partiality which have been shewn; to remark the yearly visits that have been made to that country; to reckon up all the sums that have been spent to aggrandize and enrich it, would be at once invidious and tedious: Nor shall I dwell any longer on this displeasing subject, than to express my hopes that we shall no more suffer ourselves to

* In the debate upon the Hanover treaty (anno 1725), it was alleged, by Mr. *Horatio Walpole*, “That the treaty between the Emperor and King of Spain might probably be cemented by a match between the eldest daughter of the former (now Queen of Hungary), and the Infant Don Carlos.”

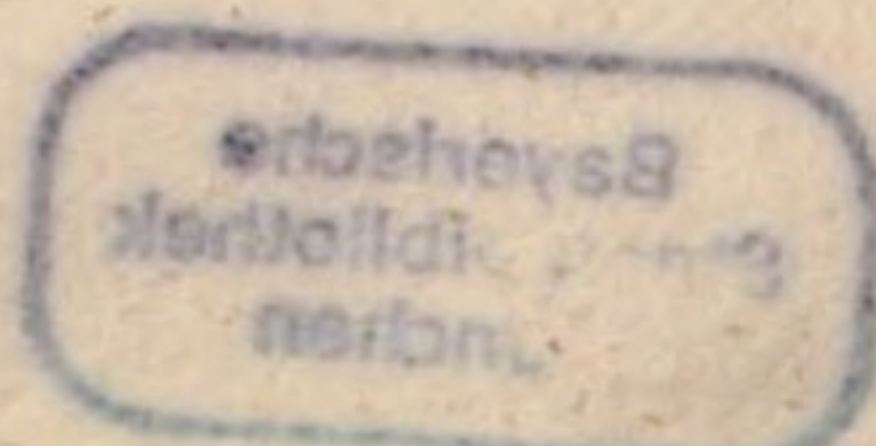
be deceived and oppressed; that we shall at length perform the duty of the representatives of the people; and, by refusing to ratify this contract, shew that, however the interest of Hanover has been preferred by the ministers, the Parliament pays no regard but to that of Great Britain.'

The motion was agreed to, upon a division of 260 against 193.

In July 1743, Lord *Wilmington* died, and Mr. *Pelham* succeeded him at the treasury, and Mr. *Winnington* succeeded Mr. *Pelham* in the office of paymaster. On the 22d of December 1743, Mr. *Sandys* being created a peer, Mr. *Pelham* was made chancellor of the exchequer.

On the 1st of December 1743, Parliament met. The King's speech recited the affairs of the continent, which, from the late battle at Dettingen, and other events, had engaged the public attention. The usual motion for an address, in answer to the King's speech, brought on a long debate, in which Mr. *Pitt* spoke against the motion; viz.

'From what is now proposed we may see, that whatever change we have got, or may get,



with respect to foreign measures, by the late change in our administration, the nation is to expect no change with respect to our domestic affairs. In foreign affairs I shall grant we have felt a very remarkable change. From one extreme our administration have run close to the verge of another. Our former minister betrayed the interest of his country by his pusillanimity; our present minister (meaning Lord *Carteret*) sacrifices it by his quixotism. Our former minister was for negotiating with all the world; our present is for fighting against all the world. Our former minister was for agreeing to every treaty, though never so dishonourable; our present will give ear to no treaty, though never so reasonable. Thus both appear to be extravagant, but with this difference, that by the extravagance of our present, the nation will be put to a much greater charge than ever it was by the pusillanimity of our former.

‘The hon. gentleman who spoke last was in the right when he said, in the beginning of the session, we could know nothing in a parliamentary way of the measures that had been pursued. I believe we shall know as little in that way at the end of the session; for I am persuaded our new minister will in this, as well as in every other step of his domestic conduct,

follow the example of his predecessor, by getting a negative put upon every motion that may tend towards our acquiring any parliamentary knowledge of our late measures. But if we have no knowledge of them, surely it is as strong an argument for our not approving, as it can be for our not answering; and if nothing relating to our late measures had been proposed to be inserted in our address upon this occasion, I should not have taken the least notice of them; but whether I have any parliamentary knowledge or no, when an approbation is proposed, it lays me under a necessity to make use of the knowledge I have, whatever it may be, in order to determine whether I am to join or not in the approbation proposed. Suppose I had no knowledge of any of our late measures but what I have gathered from foreign and domestic newspapers; even that knowledge I must make use of when I am obliged to give my opinion of them; and when, from that knowledge, I think them wrong, I ought surely to refuse joining in any thing that may look like an approbation. Nay, this refusal I ought to persist in, till the minister be pleased to furnish me with such parliamentary knowledge as may convince me that I have been misinformed. This, I say, ought certainly to be my conduct, when, from the knowledge I have, I find more reason to condemn than approve of

any late measure; but suppose that, from the knowledge I have, I find more reason to approve than condemn, yet even in that case I ought not to approve, unless my knowledge be such as may authorise, that approbation: and as no sort of knowledge but a parliamentary knowledge can warrant a parliamentary approbation, for this reason alone I ought to refuse it; so that if what is now proposed contains any sort of approbation, or refusing to agree to it is not a censure upon any past measure; it is only a declaration that we have not such a knowledge of past measures as may be a sufficient foundation for a parliamentary approbation.

‘ Sir, it is not only an approbation of all that our ministers have advised, but an acknowledgment of the truth of several facts, which upon inquiry may appear to be false; or at least they are such as we have seen no proof of, nor have any proper authority to assert. Suppose it should appear that his Majesty was exposed to few or no dangers abroad, but what he is daily exposed to at home, such as the overturning of his coach, or the stumbling of his horse—would not the address proposed be an affront and an insult upon our sovereign, instead of being a compliment? Suppose it should appear that our ministers have shewn no regard to the advice of

Parliament, and that they have exerted their endeavours, not for the preservation of the House of Austria, but for involving that House in dangers, which it might otherwise have avoided, and which, I believe, it will hardly be possible for us to avert; suppose it should appear that though a body of Dutch troops marched to the Rhine, they never joined our army; suppose it should appear that the treaty with Sardinia is not yet ratified by all the parties concerned, or that it is such a one as cannot be performed: If these things should appear, upon an inquiry, would not such an address as this appear very ridiculous? What assurance have we that all these facts may not appear to be as I have supposed?

‘ Upon the death of the late Emperor of Germany, I shall grant that it was the interest of this nation to have had the Queen of Hungary established in the possession of her father’s dominions, and her husband, the Duke of Lorrain, chosen Emperor. This was our interest, because it would have been the best security for the preservation of the balance of power; but we had no other interest, and it was an interest we had in common with all the powers of Europe except France. We were not, therefore, to take upon us the sole support of this interest; and there-

fore, when the King of Prussia attacked Silesia, and the King of Spain, the King of Poland, and the Duke of Bavaria laid claim to the late Emperor's succession; we might then have seen that the establishment of the Queen of Hungary in all her father's dominions was become impossible, especially as the Dutch refused to interfere any other way than by good offices. What, then, ought we to have done? Since we could not preserve the whole, is it not evident that, in order to engage some of the claimants on our side, we ought to have advised her to yield up part? This we ought to have insisted on, and the claimant whom we ought first to have thought of taking off was the King of Prussia; both because his claim was the smallest, and because he was one of the most neutral, as well as one of the most powerful allies we could treat with. For this reason we ought certainly to have advised the Queen of Hungary to have accepted of the terms offered by the King of Prussia when he first invaded Silesia: Nay, we ought to have insisted on it, as the condition of our assisting her against any of the other claimants. If we had done this, the court of Vienna must and would have agreed to it; and in this case, whatever protestations the other claimants might have made, the Queen of Hungary would, to this day I believe, have remained the undisturbed possessor of all the rest

of her father's dominions; and her husband, the Duke of Lorrain, would have been in possession of the Imperial throne.

‘ Did we, at that time, pursue this salutary measure? No, Sir, the contrary appears not only from our Gazettes, but from our parliamentary knowledge; for, from the papers that have been either accidentally or necessarily laid before parliament, it appears that instead of insisting upon the court of Vienna agreeing to the terms offered by Prussia, we rather encouraged them in their obstinacy, not only by our memorials, but by his Majesty's speech to his Parliament, the addresses of both Houses thereupon, and by speeches made by our courtiers against the King of Prussia. What I mean is his Majesty's speech on the 8th of April 1741; the famous addresses made upon that occasion, for guaranteeing the dominions of Hanover, and the grant of 300,000*l.* for enabling his Majesty to support the Queen of Hungary. Every one must remember the speeches made upon that occasion, by some favourites at court, against the King of Prussia: and every one must remember, that the Queen of Hungary was not then, nor for some months after, attacked by any one Prince in Europe, except the King of Prussia; therefore, the court of Vienna could not but suppose that

both the court and nation of Great Britain were resolved to support her, not only against the King of Prussia, but *contra omnes mortales*; and consequently we have no reason to be surprised at that court's shewing an unwillingness to part with such a plentiful country as those lordships of Silesia claimed by the King of Prussia.

‘ This, I say, Sir, was sufficient to confirm the Queen of Hungary in her obstinacy; but this was not all. We had not only promised her our assistance against the King of Prussia, but we had actually begun a negotiation for a powerful alliance against that Prince, and for parcelling out his dominions amongst the allies. We had solicited not only the Queen of Hungary, but also the Dutch and Muscovites, to enter into this alliance; and we had been at the expence of taking both Danes and Hessians into the pay of Great Britain, for the use of this alliance. Nay, even Hanover put herself to a great expence upon this occasion, by making an augmentation of near one third to the army she had on foot, which I believe was the first extraordinary expence she was put to since her happy conjunction with England, notwithstanding the great acquisitions she has since made, and the many expensive measures England has been involved in, upon the sole account of that Electro-

rate. Therefore, if the Queen of Hungary shewed any thing like obstinacy with regard to the claims of Prussia, we may easily perceive to whom that obstinacy ought to be ascribed; and to whom only the misfortunes which afterwards befel that Princess ought most justly to be imputed. Whilst the French seemed resolved not to interfere in the affairs of Germany, it was easy to promise her our assistance. It was safe to engage in schemes that might contribute to her support, as well as to the enlargement of the dominions of Hanover, because Prussia was certainly not an equal match for the Queen of Hungary alone, and much less for the Queen of Hungary supported by Hanover, and the whole power of Great Britain. During this posture of affairs, I say it was safe for us, that is to say it was safe for Hanover, to promise and to concert schemes for the support of the Queen of Hungary; but as soon as France began to appear, our schemes were all dropt, and our promises forgotten, because it began then to be unsafe for Hanover to engage in the affair, and England most undoubtedly is not to regard any promises, or to engage in any schemes, which can possibly bring Hanover into any danger or distress.

‘ From this time, Sir, we thought no more of

assisting the Queen of Hungary, except by those grants which were made to her by Parliament. These indeed our ministers did not oppose, because they are sure of making, some way or other, a job of every grant made by Parliament: But from the use that was made, or rather the no use that was made, of the Danish and Hessian troops, notwithstanding their being continued in British pay, and from the insult tamely suffered by our squadron in the Mediterranean, we must conclude that our ministers, from the time the French began to interfere, resolved not to give the Queen of Hungary any assistance either by sea or land. Thus, after having led that Princess upon the ice by our promises, we left her there, to shift for herself; by which means the Duke of Bavaria came to be chosen Emperor, and the House of Austria was stripped of a great part of its dominions, and in the utmost danger of being stript of all, if France had been so inclined; but what saved the House of Austria was, France had a mind to have the power of that House reduced, but not to be absolutely ruined; because the power of the Duke of Bavaria, then Emperor, would have been raised to a higher pitch than was consistent with the French scheme, which was to make the Princes of Germany ruin one another as much as possible, and then to make such a partition as should render

the Houses of Bavaria, Austria, and Saxony, pretty near equal.

‘ This prevented the French from sending such a powerful army into Germany as they might have done; and by the bad conduct of the generals they sent there, and the good conduct of the Queen of Hungary’s generals, together with the bravery of her troops, her affairs in Germany took a new turn, just about the time of the late change in our administration; which brings me to the origin of the measures that are now carrying on; and therefore I must consider the posture of the affairs of Europe at that particular time, that is, in February 1742. But before I enter upon that consideration, I must lay this down as a maxim which this nation ought always to observe, that though it be our interest to preserve a balance of power in Europe, yet, as we are the most remote from danger, we ought always to be the least susceptible of jealousy, and the last to take the alarm. With regard to the balance of power, I must observe, that this balance may be supported either by having one single potentate capable of opposing and defeating any ambitious design of France, or by having a well-connected confederacy sufficient for the same purpose. Of these two I shall grant that the first is the most eligible,

when it can be had, because it may be most securely depended on; but when this cannot be had, the whole address of our ministers and negotiators ought to be employed in establishing the second.

‘ The wisdom of the first maxim, Sir, must be acknowledged by every one who considers, that when the powers upon the continent apply to us to join with them in a war against France, we may take what share in the war we think fit; whereas, when we apply to them, they will prescribe to us; and whatever art some gentlemen may make use of to frighten themselves, or to frighten others, when it serves their purpose, with the dependency of all the powers of Europe upon France, we may rest secure, that as often as they are in any real danger of being brought under such a dependency, they will unite among themselves to prevent it, and will call upon us for assistance; nay, if they should be imperceptibly brought under such a dependency, they would, as soon as they perceived it, unite amongst themselves, and call upon us to join with them in a confederacy against France, in order to enable them to shake off that dependency; so that we can never be obliged to stand alone in supporting the balance of power, nor shall we ever have occasion to call upon our neighbours on the continent to join with us for such a purpose, unless

when our ministers, for some purposes and designs of their own, pretend dangers which have no real foundation; for Europe is now in a very different situation from what it was in the time of the Romans. Every country then was divided into so many sovereignties, that it was impossible for the people of any one country to unite among themselves, and much more for two or three large countries to unite in a general confederacy against the overgrown power of the Romans; whereas this is now practicable, and always may be practised as often as France, or any other power in Europe, discovers a real design to enslave the rest.

‘ This brings me back to what I have already observed, that the balance of power in Europe may be maintained by a confederacy, as securely as it can be by setting up any one power as a rival to the power of France. And now let me examine which of these two methods we ought to have thought on in February 1742. The Imperial diadem was then gone from the House of Austria; and though the Queen of Hungary’s troops had met with some success in the winter, she was still stript of a great part of the Austrian dominions; so that the power of that House was much inferior to what it was at the time of the late Emperor’s death, and still more inferior to what

it was in the year 1716, when we thought it necessary to add Naples and Sicily to its former acquisitions, in order to make it a match for the power of France. Beside this, there was then a most powerful confederacy against that House, and no jealousy subsisting amongst the powers of Europe of the ambitious designs of France; for though that court had assisted in humiliating the House of Austria, they had discovered no design of increasing their own dominions. But on the other hand, by the haughty behaviour of the court of Vienna, and the height that House had been raised to, a jealousy had arisen amongst the Princes of Germany, of the overgrown power of that House; which jealousy had first manifested itself in the House of Hanover, and was at this very time subsisting, not only in the House of Hanover, but also in most of the sovereign Houses of Germany. In these circumstances it was impossible for our ministers, however weak and erroneous we may suppose them, to think of restoring the House of Austria to its former grandeur and power, or of supporting that House as a match against the power of France; because in such a scheme they must have seen that they would not be cordially assisted by any power in Europe, and that they would be opposed, not only by France and Spain, but by all the Princes of Germany and Italy,

who were jealous of the power of the House of Austria.

In these circumstances, what was this nation to do? What ought our ministers to have done? Since it was impossible to establish the balance of power in Europe upon the single power of the House of Austria, surely, Sir, it was our business to think of restoring the peace of Germany as soon as possible, by our good offices, in order thereby to establish a confederacy sufficient for opposing France, in case that court should afterwards discover any ambitious views. It was not now so much our business to prevent the lessening of the power of the House of Austria, as it was our business to bring about a speedy reconciliation among the Princes of Germany, and to take care that France should get as little by the treaty of peace, as she said she expected by the war. This, I say, ought to have been our chief concern, because the preservation of the balance of power was now no longer to depend upon the sole power of the House of Austria, but upon the joint power of a confederacy then to be formed; and till the Princes of Germany were reconciled among themselves, there was scarcely a possibility of forming such a confederacy. If we had made this our scheme, the Dutch would have joined heartily in it. The Germanic body would

have joined in it; and the peace of Germany might have been restored without putting this nation to any expence, or diverting us from the prosecution of our just and necessary war against Spain, in case our differences with that nation could not have been adjusted by the treaty for restoring the peace of Germany.

‘ But our new minister, as I have said, ran into an extreme quite opposite to that of the old.

‘ Our former minister thought of nothing but negotiating, when he ought to have thought of nothing but war; and the present minister has thought of nothing but war, when he ought to have thought of nothing but negotiation.

‘ A resolution was taken, and preparations were made, for sending a body of our troops to Flanders, even before we had any hopes of the King of Prussia’s deserting his alliance with France, and without our being called on to do so by any one power in Europe: I say, Sir, by any one power in Europe; for I defy our ministers to shew that even the Queen of Hungary desired any such thing before it was resolved on. I believe some of her ministers were free enough to declare that the money those troops cost would

have done here much more service; and I am sure we were so far from being called on by the Dutch to do so, that it was resolved on without their participation, and the measures carried into execution, I believe, expressly contrary to their advice.

‘ This resolution, Sir, was so far from having any influence on the King of Prussia, that he continued firm to his alliance with France, and fought the battle of Crotka, after he knew it was taken; and if he had continued firm in the same sentiments, our troops could not have been of the least service to the Queen of Hungary; but the battle of Crotka fully convinced him that the French designed chiefly to play one German Prince against another, in order to weaken both; he then discovered that, according to the French scheme, his share of Silesia was not to be so considerable as he expected. These considerations, and not the wisdom of any of our ministers, inclined him to come to an agreement with the Queen of Hungary; and as she was now convinced that she could not depend upon our promises, she readily agreed to his terms, though his demands were now much more extravagant than they were at first; and what is worse, they were now unaccompanied with any one promise or consideration, except that of a neutrality; whereas his first demands

were made palatable by the tender of a large sum of money, and by the promise of his utmost assistance, not only in supporting the Pragmatic Sanction, but in raising her husband, the Duke of Lorraine, to the Imperial throne. Nay, he even insinuated that he would embrace the first opportunity to assist in procuring her House an equivalent for whatever part of Silesia she should yield up to him.

‘ This accommodation between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia, and that which soon after followed between her and the Duke of Saxony, produced a very great alteration in the affairs of Europe; but as they promised nothing but a neutrality, and as the Dutch absolutely refused to join, either with the Queen of Hungary or us, in any offensive measures against France, it was still impossible for us to think of restoring the House of Austria to such power as to render it a match for the power of France; therefore we ought still to have thought of nothing but negotiation, in order to restore the peace of Germany, by an accommodation between her and the Emperor; and the distresses which the Bavarian and French armies in Germany were drove to, furnish us with such an opportunity as we ought by all means to have embraced, and to have insisted on the Queen of

Hungary's doing the same, under the pain of being entirely deserted by us. A peace was offered both by the Emperor and the French, upon the moderate terms of *Uti Possidetis*, with respect to Germany; but, for what reason I cannot comprehend, we were so far from advising the Queen of Hungary to accept, that I believe we advised her not to accept, of the terms offered.

‘This, Sir, was a conduct in our ministers so very extraordinary, so directly opposite to the interest of this nation, and the security of the balance of power, that I can suggest to myself no one reason for it, but their being resolved to put this nation to the expence of maintaining 16,000 Hanoverians; and this, I am afraid, was the true motive our new ministers had at first for all the warlike measures they resolved on. Nothing will now satisfy us but a conquest of Alsace and Lorrain, in order to give them to the Queen of Hungary, as an equivalent for what she had lost; and this we resolved on, or at least pretended to resolve on, at a time when France and Prussia were in close conjunction; at a time when no one of the powers of Europe could assist us; at a time when none of them entertained any jealousy of the ambitious designs of France; and at a time when most of the Princes

of Germany entertained such a jealousy of the power of the House of Austria, that we had great reason to apprehend the whole Germanic body, at least the most considerable Princes of Germany, joining against us, in case we should meet with any success.

‘ Sir, if our ministers were really serious in this scheme, it was one of the most romantic that ever entered into the head of any English Don Quixote; and if they made this only a pretence for putting this nation to the expence of maintaining 16,000 Hanoverians, or of acquiring some new territory for the Electorate of Hanover, I am sure no British House of Commons ought to approve of their conduct.

‘ It is ridiculous to say, Sir, that we could not advise the Queen of Hungary to accept of the terms offered by the Emperor and France, when their troops were cooped up in the city of Prague, because these terms were offered with a view only to get their troops at liberty, and to take the first opportunity to attack her with more vigour.—This, I say, is ridiculous, because, if she had accepted of the terms offered, she might have had them guaranteed by the Dutch, by the German body, and by all the powerful Princes of Germany, which would have brought

all these powers into a confederacy with us against the Emperor and France, if they had afterwards attacked her in Germany; and all of them, but especially the Dutch and the King of Prussia, would have been ready to have joined us, if the French had attacked her in Flanders. It is equally ridiculous to say, that she could not accept of these terms, because they contained nothing for the security of her dominions in Italy; for suppose the war had continued in Italy, if the Queen of Hungary had been safe upon the side of Germany, she could have poured such a number of troops into Italy, as would have been sufficient for opposing and defeating all the armies that both the French and Spaniards could have sent to, and maintained in that country; since we could, by our superior fleets, have made it impossible for the French and Spaniards to maintain great armies in that country.

‘ No reason can therefore be assigned for the Queen of Hungary’s refusing the terms offered her for restoring the tranquillity of Germany, but this alone, that we had promised to assist her so effectually as to enable her to conquer a part of France, by way of equivalent for what she had lost in Germany; and such an assistance
as is neither our interest nor in our power to

give, as the circumstances of Europe stand at present. I am really surprised how the Queen of Hungary came to trust a second time to our promises; for I may venture to prophesy that she will find herself a second time deceived; for we shall certainly abandon her as soon as Hanover comes to be a second time in danger. From all which I must conclude, that our present scheme of politics is fundamentally wrong, and that the longer we continue to build upon such a foundation, the more dangerous it will be for us. The whole fabric will involve this unfortunate nation in it's ruins.

‘ I will now examine our conduct during the last campaign. As this nation must bear the chief part of the expence, it was certainly our business to prosecute the war with all possible vigour, to come to action as soon as possible, and to push every advantage to the utmost. Since we soon found we could not attack the French upon the side of Flanders, why were our troops so long marching into Germany? Or indeed I should ask, why our army was not first assembled in that country? Why did they continue so long inactive upon the Maine? If our army was not numerous enough for attacking the French, why were the Hessians left behind for some time in Flanders? Why did we not send

over 20,000 of those regular troops that were lying idle at home? How to answer all these questions I cannot tell; but it is certain we never thought of attacking the French army in our neighbourhood, and I believe expected very little to be attacked. Nay, I doubt much if any action would have happened during the whole campaign, if the French had not, by the misconduct of some one or other of our generals, caught our army in a hose net, from which it could not have escaped, if the French generals had all observed the directions of their commander in chief, and had thought only of guarding and fortifying themselves in the defiles, and marching up to attack our troops. Thank God, the courage of some of the French generals got the better of their discretion, as well as their military discipline. This made them attack, instead of waiting to be attacked; and by the bravery of the English foot, and the cowardice of their own, they met with a severe repulse, which put their whole army into confusion, and obliged it to retire with precipitation over the Maine, by which our army escaped the snare they had been led into, and got liberty to pursue their retreat to Hanau.

‘ This Sir, was a signal advantage; but did we push this advantage? Did we pursue the

enemy in their precipitate retreat over a great river, where many of them must have been lost, had they been closely pursued? Did we endeavour to take the least advantage of the confusion they had been thrown into by their unexpected repulse? No, Sir, the ardour of our British troops was restrained by the cowardice of the Hanoverian; and instead of pursuing the enemy, we ourselves ran away in the night-time, and in such haste, that we left all our wounded to the mercy and care of the enemy, who had likewise the honour of burying our dead, as well as their own. This action may therefore, on our side, be called a lucky escape; but I shall never give my consent to honour it with the name of a victory.

‘ After this escape, Sir, our army was joined by a very large reinforcement. Did this revive our courage, or give us any better stomach for fighting? Not a bit, Sir. Though the French continued for some time upon the German side of the Rhine, we never offered to attack them, or to give them the least disturbance. At last, upon Prince Charles’s approach with the Austrian army under his command, the French not only re-passed the Rhine, but retired quite out of Germany: and as the Austrian army and the allied army might then have joined, and might

both have passed the Rhine without opposition at Mentz, or almost any where in the Palatinate, it was expected that both armies would have marched together into Lorrain, or in search of the French army, in order to force them to a battle; but instead of this, Prince Charles marched up the German side of the Rhine—to do what? To pass that great river, in the sight of a French army equal in number to his own, which, without some extraordinary neglect in the French, was impracticable; and so it was found by experience. So that the whole campaign, upon that side, was consumed in often attempting what as often appeared to be impracticable.

‘ On the other side, I mean that of the allied army, was there any thing done of consequence? I know of nothing but that of sending a party of Hussars into Lorrain with a manifesto. The army, indeed, passed the Rhine at Mentz, and marched up to the French lines upon the frontier of Alsace, but never offered to pass those lines until the French had abandoned them, I believe with a design to draw our army into some snare; for upon the French returning towards those lines, we retired with much greater haste than we had advanced, though the Dutch auxiliaries were then come up, and pretended, at least, to

be ready to join our army; though, as I have heard, they found a pretence for never coming into the line; and it may be doubted if they would have marched with us to attack the French army in their own territories. But suppose this Dutch detachment had been ready to march with us to attack the French in their own territories, or to invest some of their fortified places, it could have given me no joy; and therefore I cannot join in any congratulations upon that event; for a small detachment of Dutch troops can never enable us to execute the vast scheme we have undertaken. The whole force of that Republic would not be sufficient for that purpose; because we should have the majority of the Empire against us; and therefore if the Dutch had joined *totis viribus* in our scheme, instead of congratulating I should have been sorry for their insanity at our instigation.

‘ While we continue prosecuting this scheme, the Hanoverians indeed will be considerable gainers, let whoever will be the loser, because they will draw 4 or 500,000*l.* yearly from this nation, over and above what they have annually drawn from us ever since they had the good fortune to be united with us under the same sovereign,

‘ I had almost forgot, Sir, to take notice of the treaty of Worms; and I wish after-ages may never take notice of it. I wish it could be erased out of our history; for that treaty is one of the most destructive, unjust, and ridiculous treaties we ever made. By that treaty we have taken upon ourselves a burthen which may be more than we can support; and we have engaged in such an act of injustice towards Genoa as must alarm all Europe, and give the French a signal advantage; for from thence all the princes of Europe will see what regard we have to justice, where we think we have power; and therefore most of them will probably join with France in curtailing our power, or at least in preventing its increase.

If the hon. gentleman had seriously intended that what he proposed should be unanimously agreed to, he would have returned to the ancient custom of Parliament, which some of his new friends have so often upon former occasions recommended. It is a new doctrine to pretend that we ought in our address to return a favourable answer to every thing mentioned in his Majesty’s speech. It is a doctrine that has prevailed only since our Parliament began to be as acquiescent as a French Parliament.

‘ If we put a negative upon this address, it may awaken our ministers out of their deceitful dream. If they stop now, the nation may recover; but if by such a flattering address we encourage them to go on, it may soon become impossible for them to retreat; and therefore, for the sake of Europe, and my country, I shall most heartily join in putting a negative upon it.’

The address was agreed to.

On the 12th of January 1744, the report from the Committee of Supply being made to the House, viz. “ That 634,344l. be granted for defraying the charge of 21,358 effective men, to be employed in Flanders in 1744,” Mr. *Pitt* spoke against agreeing with the committee, in this resolution, to the following purport.

‘ As it is not the custom, at this time, to lay before Parliament any information of our public measures, which, as well as the motives for adopting them, are too great secrets to be communicated to this House, I protest I know nothing of them; nor can I, from any public appearances, judge of them. No man can, who has not an intimate correspondence with some of our ministers of the closet, which, I thank God, I have not; and therefore if I mistake, or mis-

tate, our late or present measures, I hope the gentlemen, who think themselves happy in having such a correspondence, will excuse and correct me.

‘There are two points, Sir, which ought to be considered, and fully discussed, before we agree to the hon. gentleman’s motion; and they are, first, the end of our giving assistance to the Queen of Hungary; and, second, the manner in which we are to give that assistance. If the French still insist upon taking a great part of the Queen of Hungary’s dominions in Germany from her, and giving them to the Emperor, in order to induce him to agree to their taking Flanders, we ought to endeavour, *totis viribus*, to prevent such a scheme’s taking effect; because the monarchy of France is already more powerful than is consistent with the safety of Europe.

‘If the procuring the Queen of Hungary an equivalent from France be the end or design of our maintaing an army in Flanders, it is so evidently impracticable, that I am convinced it cannot be the true end. It must be a pretence made use of for covering some hidden design, which our ministers dare not own, and which would certainly draw a severe punishment upon them, if it should be proved against them: I

mean that of lavishing the blood and treasure of England, for the sake of getting an opportunity to maintain 16,000 Hanoverians, or for the sake of getting some little territories added to the dominions of that Electorate.

‘ I will now, Sir, offer a few words concerning the manner in which we ought to assist the Queen of Hungary. It should be our maxim, never to assist any of our continental allies with a great number of troops. They have no occasion for our men, and the Queen of Hungary less than any other. She has men in abundance. She only wants money to arm and support them. Therefore, the only manner in which we ought to think of supporting her, or any other of our allies upon the continent, is with our money and our navy. And my reason for laying this down as a maxim is, not only because the sea is our natural element, but because it is dangerous to our liberties, as well as destructive to our trade, to encourage great numbers of our people to make the profession of arms their trade, so as to depend upon that alone for their livelihood. A farmer, a day-labourer, a cobbler, may be a good soldier, if you take care to have him properly disciplined, and always will be ready to defend his country, in case of an attack; but as he has another way of living, he may be a good

subject; whereas a man who has no other way of living, can never be a good subject, especially in a free country; and for this reason we ought to have as few of them as possible, either abroad or at home. At least they ought never to be kept long in the service; for after a long disuse, there are very few of them can afterwards turn to any industrious employment for their support.

‘Another reason is, Sir, because custom has made our troops more expensive than those of any other country; and therefore our money will always be of more service to our allies, because it will enable them to raise and maintain a greater number of troops than we can furnish them with for the same sum of money. This, Sir, may be proved by figures. By the motion now before us, our own troops in Flanders are to cost us for next year 634,344*l.* and I suppose the 16,000 Hanoverians will cost us near 400,000*l.*—To these two sums I shall add 200,000*l.* for contingent money; for I believe we shall find that this article for last year amounts to a much larger sum. These three articles make 1,234,344*l.* I shall call it the even sum of 1,200,000*l.* which we must pay next year, for maintaining an army of 37,000 men. Now if we had sent this sum to the Queen of Hungary, let us see what an additional number of men she might have maintained

with it. By several treaties, and particularly by the accession of the States-General to the Vienna treaty of 1731, the charge of 1000 foot is fixed at 10,000 guilders per month; which in sterling money, at the rate of 10 guilders 16 stivers per pound sterling, is 926l.; and the charge of 1000 horse is fixed at 30,000 guilders for the same time, which is 2778l.; so that 1,200,000l. would have maintained near 108,000 foot for the Queen of Hungary, or near 36,000 horse; or it would have maintained an army for her of 54,000 foot and 18,000 horse for the ensuing year; and I must ask even our ministers if they do not think that an additional army of 72,000 men, to be employed in the common cause, as they are pleased to call it, would have been of more service to her than our 37,000 men in Flanders? For though I will not allow that any of her troops are better than the British, yet I may take upon me to say, that the worst of her troops are better than the Hanoverians were ever yet supposed to be.

‘ But now, Sir, suppose we could think it of advantage to the common cause to assist the Queen of Hungary with troops instead of money, the very worst place we could think of sending these troops to, or employing them in, is Flanders. If we had formed no army there, the

French would have formed no army there. Whereas, if we form an army next summer in Flanders, though we do not begin to act offensively with that army, as I firmly believe we do not intend to do, it may furnish the French with an excuse for attacking the Queen of Hungary in that country, and that excuse may be admitted by the Dutch, who seem at present to have no sort of jealousy of France.

In short, Sir, as I could at first see no reason for sending our troops to Flanders, unless it was to furnish our ministers with a pretence for loading us with the maintenance of 16,000 Hanoverians, I can now see no reason for our keeping them there, unless it be to furnish a pretence for continuing that load upon us; and as I think our keeping them there may be attended with infinite danger to the cause of the Queen of Hungary, I cannot therefore agree with the report of the committee.'

The report was agreed to.

Some apology or explanation is necessary, for inserting the preceding speeches, under the name of Mr. *Pitt*.—The reader has undoubtedly observed, that the style in which they are written, does not seem to preserve Mr. *Pitt's* language

or phrase; but they have been printed in the Parliamentary Debates of this period; and it has not come to the Editor's knowledge that there is any better, or even any other, account of them extant. They were written by a Mr. *Gordon*, a minister of the church of Scotland, originally for the London Magazine—when Dr. *Samuel Johnson* had ceased to write the speeches for the Gentleman's Magazine; or rather when *Cave*, the printer of that miscellany, was punished for printing them. *Gordon* continued some sketches of them, with less accuracy, and in inferior language, but with more attention to the argument, until the death of *Frederick* Prince of *Wales*, in 1751. His practice was to go to the coffee-houses contiguous to Westminster Hall, where he frequently heard the members conversing with each other upon what had passed in the House; and sometimes he gained admission into the gallery; and as he was known to a few of the gentlemen, two or three of them, upon particular occasions, furnished him with some information.

The vigorous opposition which Mr. *Pitt* had made in Parliament to the measures pursued for the defence of Hanover, raised him very high in the esteem of the English nation. He had for some years been admired as an orator—he was

now revered as a patriot. The spirit and energy which distinguished his parliamentary conduct, evinced that he was actuated by principle, not by an illiberal passion to display the superiority of his talents; that his opposition was the result of conviction, not of pique; that it was not founded in a personal consideration of the men who held the offices of government, but in an indignant abhorrence of the measures which, he said, insulated Great Britain from a participation of the advantages her money was voted to procure, and gave her a right to demand.

Amongst the many persons of elevated rank who honoured this conduct of Mr. *Pitt* with the warmest approbation, was *Sarah* Duchess Dowager of *Marlborough*. This lady, by a codicil to her will, dated on the 11th of August 1744, gave to Mr. *Pitt* a legacy, in these words* :—

“ I also give to *William Pitt*, of the parish of
“ St. James, within the liberty of Westminster,
“ Esq. the sum of Ten Thousand Pounds, upon
“ account of his merit, in the noble defence he
“ has made for the support of the laws of Eng-
“ land, and to prevent the ruin of his country.”

* She died in October following, and the money was paid.

CHAP. VI.

State of the Ministry.—Lord Carlisle disappointed of Privy Seal.—Lord Cobham joins the Pelhams. Lord Granville opposed in Council, and resigns.—The Broad Bottom Ministry appointed.—Mr. Pitt's reply to Sir Francis Dashwood, on the Address.—Mr. Pitt's reply to Mr. Hume Campbell, on the Noblemen's New-raised regiments.

FROM the time that Sir *Robert Walpole* had been compelled to relinquish the government, the British councils had not been influenced by the principles, of any system, plan or regulation. It was a government of expedients, proceeding fortuitously; too cowardly to act upon a bold measure, and too ignorant to frame a wise one. The members of the cabinet being composed of deserters from all parties, became a faction, without confidence in each other. Lord *Bath*, who had been their creator, was the only cement which held them together.

It has been observed that Lord *Carteret*, who had been made secretary of state by Lord *Bath*, had gained an ascendancy in the closet, by fa-

vouring the predilections or the King respecting Hanover. This ascendancy alarmed the other members of the cabinet. They beheld with jealousy Lord *Carteret's* increasing influence with the King. There was, however, a manly firmness and dignified deportment in Lord *Carteret's* conduct. His German measures were always communicated to the British cabinet in the *first* instance; nor was there any attempt ever made to carry them into execution, until they had been proposed to, and adopted by, his colleagues in office. But had the King concerted them *secretly* with his Hanoverian council, and not communicated the information to his British ministers, until it was necessary to involve his British dominions in the expence, and when it was too late to make any alteration;—it is more than probable that Lord *Carteret* would, in such a case, have laid the seals at his Majesty's feet.

It has long been seen clearly, and said by wise and honest men, that the foundation of all other factions is the faction at court. The court faction, which had been lately formed by Lord *Bath*, gave rise to several factions. During these disputes Lord *Cobham* and his friends kept aloof.

The unsettled state of the ministry was made

apparent to the whole kingdom, by the contention amongst them for the office of privy seal, which Lord *Gower* had resigned. Lord *Bath*, who interfered upon this occasion, and affected to act by the authority of the King, sent for Lord *Carlisle*, and assured his Lordship he should be appointed to it; and Lord *Carlisle* thought himself so sure of the place, that he informed his friends the appointment was made. The *Pelham's* resisted this scheme of Lord *Bath's* with all their might; and the Duke of *Newcastle* went to the King and demanded the place for Lord *Cholmondeley*. Those who knew the King said his Majesty was taken by surprise, and consented with reluctance. Several other alterations were made, by which the power of Lord *Bath's* friends was decreased, and that of the *Pelhams* advanced. This arrangement, however, was but of short duration. The two parties continued to struggle for superiority.

A war with France was the favorite measure of the King at this time, on account of his German dominions, which were exposed to the enmity of France, by his alliance with the court of Vienna; and Lord *Carteret*, who was now become Earl *Granville*, by the death of his mother, entering fully into his Majesty's views respecting this war, became a favourite in the closet.

The circumstance of a favourite in that situation was a matter of great alarm to those who could not endure a rival. Sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops were last year taken into British pay. This measure was extremely obnoxious to the nation. Lord *Granville* avowed the measure, and being secure, as he thought, of the King's support, he treated his colleagues with some hauteur, in a debate in council upon it.

The *Pelhams* were now convinced that Lord *Granville* was both their rival and their enemy; and therefore they resolved to remove, if possible, so dangerous a competitor. In order to carry this point, their first step was to strengthen their party. They made overtures to Lord *Cobham*, who, at the request of the Duke of *Newcastle*, met his Grace at Lord *Harrington's*. At this meeting the accession of Lord *Cobham* was settled. The principal terms were, that the expences of the Hanoverian measures should be diminished, and that his Lordship's friends should be included in the next change of the ministry. With respect to his Lordship and the *Grenvilles*, the matter was easy; all the difficulty was concerning Mr. *Pitt*. The King had entertained a violent prejudice against him, on account of his opposition to German measures.

This prejudice Lord *Grenville* was supposed to have increased, by stating in the closet, more than once, Mr. *Pitt*'s parliamentary conduct in the most unfavourable light. The Duke of *Newcastle* promised to remove this prejudice from the King's mind, and to accommodate Mr. *Pitt* at a future period, which he assured Lord *Cobham* should not be far distant.

The junction of Lord *Cobham* with the *Pelhams*, influenced several others to follow his example; such as Sir *John Hind Cotton*, Mr. *Waller*, Mr. *Doddington*, and many more; so that this junction had the effect of a coalition of parties. Indeed it must be confessed that all parties, except Lord *Bath*'s, joined in opposing Lord *Granville*.

This union was negotiated and completed during the summer and autumn of 1744.—The first effects of it were felt by Lord *Granville*, in a council called on the affairs of Hanover, previous to the meeting of Parliament; when his Lordship proposed to *continue* the sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops in British pay, for the year 1745. This proposition was strongly opposed, and the council divided upon it. Four and himself were for it, and eleven against it.

Eight thousand only was the number agreed upon.

Upon this defeat Lord *Granville* took his resolution to resign: and accordingly waited on his Majesty, on Tuesday the fourteenth of November 1744, and resigned the seals.

A new administration was immediately formed, or perhaps had been already formed; which, from the circumstance of its having arisen out of the coalition of parties already mentioned, was commonly denominated *the Broad Bottom*. [The particulars of this change the reader will find in the general list of changes at the end of the work.]

Parliament met in November 1744, and exhibited such a scene of unanimity as had not been seen since the King's accession. The session closed on the second of May 1745; immediately after which the King went to Hanover, having first added Lord *Cobham* to the list of Lords Justices for the administration of government during his absence, created him Field Marshal, and given him a regiment of horse (late *Neville's*.)

In October 1745, Parliament met, on account of the Scots rebellion. There was a short debate upon the address, in answer to the King's speech, occasioned by an amendment offered by Sir *Francis Dashwood*, afterwards Lord *Le Despencer*, expressing, "That for the firmer establishment of his Majesty's throne on the solid basis of his people's affections, it shall be our speedy care to frame such bills as may effectually secure to his Majesty's subjects the perpetual enjoyment of their undoubted right to be freely and fairly represented in parliament, frequently chosen, and exempted from undue influence of every kind."

The motion was seconded by Sir *John Phillips*.

Mr. *Pitt* opposed the motion. 'The amendment,' he said, 'being offered at a time so extremely improper as the present, was fraught with a dangerous tendency. There was only one motive to which this motion could be ascribed; and it was, to make ministers odious in the eyes of the people, if they put a negative upon it. But the contrary, however, he would venture to say, would be the fact; for although motions of this kind are always popular, yet in this hour of distress and difficulty, when rebellion raged in the kingdom, and an invasion from France was expected, when the people were

seriously intent upon measures of the highest consequence, they could not think favourably of those who attempted to draw off their attention from subjects of danger to points of speculation. In such circumstances shall we,' he asked, 'employ ourselves in framing bills to guard our liberties from corruption, when we are in danger of losing them, and every thing else that is dear to us, by the force of arms? Would not this be like a man's amusing himself with making regulations to prevent his servants cheating him, at the very time that thieves were breaking into his house? But why are we to introduce this subject into the address? No county, nor city, nor corporation have requested their representatives to bring in any such bills; the people are every-where engaged in making subscriptions and forming associations for defending their Sovereign and themselves, against those who have traitorously conspired to rob him of his crown, and them of their liberties. Do gentlemen wish to give a turn to the spirit of the people, to create a contention about the constitution, that the kingdom may fall an easy prey to the enemy? If, Sir, I did not know the hon. gentlemen who made and seconded this motion, I should really suspect their having some such design; and however much I may, from my own personal knowledge, be convinced that they have

no such design, they may be assured that, if they do not withdraw their motion, the suspicion will be strong against them amongst those persons who have not the honour of their acquaintance.'

The motion was negatived without a division.

On the fourth of November 1745, the hon. *Alex. Hume Campbell**, brother to Lord *Marchmont*, moved, "That an address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to beseech his Majesty, that the officers in the new † regiments, now raising, or already raised, may not be allowed any rank after those regiments are broke.'

* This gentleman had been brought into Parliament on purpose to oppose Mr. *Pitt*. Some time after, he left his friends, and was appointed Solicitor General to the Prince of *Wales*; but on the second of February 1746, he was dismissed from that Prince's service.

† Several noblemen having raised regiments, on account of the Scots rebellion, for the service of his Majesty, these new regiments were,

HORSE :

Duke of Montagu's,

Duke of Kingston's,

FOOT :

Duke of Bolton's,

Earl of Halifax's,

Duke of Bedford's,

Lord Viscount Falmouth's

Duke of Montagu's,

Lord Viscount Harcourt's,

Duke of Ancaster's,

Lord Gower's,

Marquis of Granby's,

Lord Herbert's

Earl of Cholmondeley's

Lord Edgecumbe's.

Mr. *Pitt* reprobated this motion with warmth and indignation. He said, 'That a commission and the rank implied by it were inseparable. A commission contained a power conferred by the King, by which the person who received it became subordinate to some, and superior to others. The motion,' he contended, 'was irrational, contrary to common sense, and impracticable, as well as impolitic, by tending to discourage those noble persons who were exerting their utmost influence in the service of their country. The officers who are to be employed under them are, by this motion,' he said, 'to be stigmatized as unworthy of rank. These gentlemen are not driven into the army by necessity, but are offering themselves to serve their country in the day of distress, from motives of the warmest zeal. And shall we disgrace these men? Shall we check their noble and generous ardour in the hour of danger? Those who desire the House to agree to this motion cannot be serious, or if serious, cannot be aware of the obvious construction of their conduct. Is this the time (he asked), that loyalty ought to be stigmatized instead of being rewarded with honour? Are gentlemen endeavouring to obtain that object by oblique paths, from which they are restrained in the direct way? The motion at best is suspicious; it is paradoxical.

‘ The argument in support of the motion is an insult upon the whole army ; for it is this, that the army will behold with discontent this new promotion of officers. The very assertion is an impeachment of the allegiance of the army. It would be a reproach to the dignity of this House if our deliberations here were to be influenced by the views of any class of men. The right of deciding what measures are most conducive to the public interest and security belongs not to the army, but to this House.

‘ Those who advise us to deny rank to the new officers, advise us to deny what the King has already granted, and what he had an undoubted right to grant ; they advise us to vacate his commissions, and to break his promises ; they advise us to weaken him, at the time that he wants the most assistance ; and to shew to our enemies that he is at variance with his Parliament.’

The motion was negatived.

CHAPTER VII.

Errors of History.—Lord Bath at Court.—His overtures to Lord Cobham.—Duke of Newcastle asks the place of Secretary at War for Mr. Pitt, and is refused.—Ministry resign.—Lord Granville appointed Secretary of State.—Lord Granville resigns, and the late ministry restored.—Mr. Pitt made Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and afterwards Paymaster.—Makes no private use of the public money in his hands.—Refuses to accept the perquisite of office on the Sardinian subsidy.

THE versatility of courts has been the popular theme of writers during several of the latter centuries. It would have been more to the honour of history had the causes of such mutability been explained. But it has been the misfortune of the public, that few of the modern historians have been in situations in which they might obtain true information.—This has more than once occasioned Lord *Mansfield*, and other great men, to say, that nothing is so false as *modern history*. *Tindall*, *Smollett*, *Goldsmith*, and a long train of others, have stated, that about

this time a very extraordinary change took place in the British ministry—that Lord *Granville* was made minister, and the *Pelhams* resigned; that in a few days afterwards Lord *Granville* resigned, and the *Pelhams* were restored. The London Gazette furnishes them with the *appointments* and the *dates*, which are the only facts to be depended upon; all the rest being of their own invention. Dr. *Newton* says that Lord *Bath* wrote an account of these transactions, at the desire of *George* the Second; but that on the death of his son, Lord *Pulteney*, in the reign of *George* the Third, his Lordship burned it—*side indignus*! If it had been written at the desire of the King, it is more than probable that it would have been printed. However, if it was not more true than the account of the great change of the ministry in the year 1742, written by the same hand, and given us by Dr. *Newton*, the loss is not important, nor deserving of regret.

Upon the King's return from Hanover, Lord *Cobham* claimed of the Duke of *Newcastle* the performance of his promise respecting Mr. *Pitt*. The Duke wished to postpone the matter; but Lord *Cobham* insisted upon it. At length his Grace undertook to lay the affair before the King. A more unfavourable opportunity could not have been chosen. The King was at this

time dissatisfied with his ministers. The dismissal of eight thousand Hanoverians he imputed to their personal dislike of Lord *Granville*; and the rapid progress of the rebellion he imputed to their negligence while he was abroad. He suspected that the *Pelhams* were averse to war, which was true; and he had conceived an idea, probably from Lord *Granville*, when his Lordship was minister, that war was an omission in the *Broad Bottom* treaty, that Lord *Bath* had not been proscribed; for soon after the King's return from the continent, his Lordship appeared at court several times, and was each time honoured with an audience. His own friends have said, that in these audiences he did not fail to exaggerate the causes of the King's disgust with his servants, and to flatter the abilities of his friend Lord *Granville*; and to warmly represent his zeal for his Majesty. The French war was Lord *Granville's* favourite measure; it was also the King's. On this great point, as well as in some lesser ones, there was a coincidence of sentiment between them which naturally produced a partiality in favour of Lord *Granville*.

During the time that Lord *Bath* was thus advancing his interest in the closet, he made overtures to Lord *Cobham*, with a view to form a new administration; in which he offered to include

Mr. *Pitt*. But Lord *Cobham* returned an answer, importing that Lord *Bath* had deceived him in 1742, and he should not dupe him in 1745. This refusal of Lord *Cobham* gave his Lordship a stronger claim upon the Duke of *Newcastle*. The common language of Lord *Bath*'s and Lord *Granville*'s friends at this time was, that the King was surrounded by a faction; that he was a prisoner upon his throne; and that an administration on a *broader bottom* ought to be formed, for the interest of the country, and for the *eman-cipation* of the King.

At length the *Pelhams* took the alarm; and, whether from the apprehension of losing Lord *Cobham*, or of losing their places, or both, the Duke of *Newcastle* resolved to lay before his Majesty a list of some alterations in the inferior departments of Government which they intended to make, in order to introduce Mr. *Pitt*, who, in this arrangement, they proposed for Secretary at War, in the room of Sir *William Yonge*, to be made one of the Vice-treasurers of Ireland. But when the King came to Mr. *Pitt*'s name, he gave an immediate and positive refusal to the whole list. The Duke stated to his Majesty his engagement with Lord *Cobham*; the King angrily replied, *Then he must break his engagement.*

Lord *Bath* and Lord *Granville* instantly seized this opportunity of improving their influence in the closet. Their friends applauded in the warmest terms of panegyric the spirit which the King had shewn in the rejection of Mr. *Pitt*; and they added, “that Lord *Bath* had advised his Majesty to stand steady, and be true to his own interest.”

In consequence of the King's negative on the proposed employment of Mr. *Pitt*, the Duke of *Newcastle* met Lord *Cobham* again at Lord *Harrington's*. After some conversation on the necessity of *resigning*, and the Duke saying that Lord *Hardwicke* was decidedly of that opinion, and had both suggested and warmly recommended the measures of a *general resignation*, the Duke put this question,—“Will Lord *Cobham* and his friends adhere to us (the *Pelhams*) in and out of court, if we engage never to negotiate with the court without including Lord *Cobham* and all his friends?” Lord *Cobham* confessed the proposition was so handsome, he could not, as a man of honour, refuse giving it his most hearty assent. This compact being made, and the union thus cemented between the great parliamentary interests and the great parliamentary abilities, the *Pelhams* now considered themselves strong enough to

combat any faction, however favoured and supported it might be in the closet.

The measure of a *general resignation* was immediately adopted. Accordingly, on the next day, Feb. 10, 1746, the Duke of *Newcastle* and Lord *Harrington* resigned. The King immediately gave the Duke's seals to Lord *Granville*. But the following day Mr. *Pelham*, Lord *Hardwicke*, Lord *Pembroke*, Mr. *Legge*, Mr. *George Grenville*, and several others, all went to court, and resigned their employments. Neither the King nor Lord *Bath* was prepared for this stroke. They had not the least expectation of it. And they were informed that several noblemen and gentlemen who held commissions in the army were preparing to resign in a few days. The King, Lord *Bath*, and Lord *Granville*, were alarmed beyond expression at these resignations. It was upon this occasion only that the King discovered his own insignificancy. He found that the assurances of men without alliances, were no support to a sovereign; and that if a King would be maintained in his royalty, he must take those into his service who have the greatest influence amongst his subjects. It is a maxim, that a King without his people is either more than he ought to be, or less than he should be. Lord *Granville* saw the storm gathering round the political

hemisphere ; and having no other support than his great friend Lord *Bath*, who had lost all esteem with the nation by his treacherous conduct in 1742, he resolved to desert his own chimerical enterprise, and resign also.

If it was cruel or unhandsome in the Whigs to leave the King, when he had given his confidence to their enemies, it was infinitely more cruel and inhuman in those new favourites to abandon their sovereign, whom they first deceived with promises which they knew they could not perform, and next betrayed to the mercy of his late servants ; whose return to office they now barbarously obliged him to solicit, without making one effort to accomplish that pretended *emancipation*, with which they affected to colour the motives of their presumption.

But the Whigs took no advantage of the distresses of the King. When his Majesty sent for them to resume their offices, they only stipulated for leave to fulfil their engagements. They asked no peerages, they secured no reversions, they demanded no pensions ; and above all, however odious the royal attachment to Hanover was become, they offered no illiberal resentment to the royal mind upon that account, by which they might have obtained an unlimited popularity.

They did not leave the King until he had withdrawn himself from them; nor did they withhold their support the moment he was disposed to receive it. They all returned to office on the fourteenth of February 1746; so that Lord *Granville's* administration lasted three whole days. In the new arrangement Mr. *Pitt* was made a Vice-treasurer of Ireland. The rest of the changes the reader will find at the end of the work. And upon the death of Mr. *Winnington*, which happened in May following, Mr. *Pitt* was appointed Paymaster in his room. In his office of Paymaster, he was early distinguished by his disinterested integrity and incorruptible virtue. There are two facts related of his conduct, while in this office, which reflect the highest honour upon his character. They have already been published, in these words:

“When he was appointed to the office of Paymaster of the Forces, he found it had been customary to have 100,000*l.* by advance, generally lie in the hands of the Paymaster, which, in the time of some of those that presided before him in that office, used to be subscribed in government securities, which brought 3 or 4000*l.* *per annum*, more or less, into their private purses.—And in our memory there happened a conjuncture when this money so subscribed into the land-tax was

called for, upon an extraordinary emergency, for the use of the army; but being locked up in the exchequer, and all public funds bearing a large discount, it could not be sold but at such a great loss as would have been of the utmost damage to the subscriber. What was the consequence?—the payment of the army, in the time of war and rebellion, was stopped, when there was the greatest occasion for public credit, and punctuality in the payment of those troops on whom our *whole* depended.

“But when Mr. *Pitt* went into that department, he placed whatever sums of money belonged to the office in the Bank, where they might be ready for the public service, without ever appropriating any part of it to his private use, as had been the custom of former times; he never subscribed one shilling into the funds, nor ever availed himself of any interest arising from public monies at his disposal, but was satisfied with, and touched no more than, the *legal appointment*.

“The next fact is—that when the Parliament granted subsidies to the King of Sardinia and Queen of Hungary, payable at his office, half *per cent.* or more, used to be taken on the whole subsidy, in the most reputable times, and by those

of the most approved characters, as a *perquisite of office*.—This Mr. *Pitt* refused, which would have come to a large sum, as the grants at that time to both these powers were very considerable. —When the King of Sardinia was told this, he could not help expressing his surprise at such an instance of greatness of mind and disinterestedness, and therefore ordered his agent to offer the same sum as a royal present to Mr. *Pitt*, who had before refused it as a *perquisite*. His answer to this was, that as the Parliament had granted those sums for such uses, he had no right to any part of the money; that he did no more than his duty in paying it *entire*; and hoped the refusal of the King's present upon that occasion would not give offence.—When his Sardinian Majesty heard this, he said, Surely this Englishman was somewhat more than a man."

CHAP. VIII.

Lord Granville and Mr. Pelham reconciled.—The Prince's claims in the Cornish Boroughs.—New opposition formed.—Mr. Pitt's Speech on the Mutiny Bill concerning the half-pay Officers.—On the Glasgow Petition.—On the Mutiny Bill.—Concerning the Westminster Election.—On Dunkirk.—On the Treaties with Bavaria and Spain.—Death and Character of the Prince of Wales.

THE same unanimity which distinguished the two last sessions of Parliament continued until the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748. Even Lord Granville became reconciled to the minister. This extraordinary reconciliation was effected by Robert Nugent, Esq. afterwards Earl Nugent, as he himself related it in the House of Commons, in the year 1784. "He appointed them," he said, "to meet at his house, and their meeting was to be kept a profound secret. One repaired to his house quite muffled up, so that it was impossible for any one who saw him to know him. He just introduced them to one another, and left them to themselves. He took care, in the mean time, to have a good supper ready for them, of

which they partook; they drank heartily after it; the wine put an end to the reserve on which they had acted; they spoke freely; confidence was established between them; they became sincere friends, and remained so, and cared not the next day who knew the story of this interview."

When the rebellion was effectually crushed, the ministry resolved to dissolve the Parliament. The Prince of *Wales* having been informed of this resolution, he held a stannary court, in his capacity of Duke of *Cornwall*. In this court some claims attached to that honour were revived, which, had they been admitted, would have given the Prince a considerable influence in some of the Cornish boroughs. Lord *Bolingbroke* was supposed to have been the Prince's adviser in this affair. When the King heard it he sent the Duke of *Newcastle* to the Prince with a message, declaring the claims set up by the court of stannary to be wholly inadmissible.

The new Parliament met in November 1747; but although it was obvious the Prince's friends were joined by the Tories, there was no opposition made to the measures of government, and the session passed over with the same unanimity as before. But during the prorogation a strong

opposition was formed, and it was resolved to act with vigour. The Prince put himself publicly at the head of it. Mr. *Pitt*, Mr. *Fox*, (afterwards Lord *Holland*), Mr. *Murray* (afterwards Lord *Mansfield*), and several other gentlemen of distinguished abilities, adhered to Mr. *Pelham*.

On the 29th of November 1748, commenced the second session of the new Parliament. But although the treaty of Aix la Chapelle had been concluded and published in the preceding month of October, no copy of it was laid before Parliament. The King mentioned the treaty in his speech, and the terms of it were severely reprobated in the debate upon the address. But Mr. *Pitt* did not speak on the subject.

When the Mutiny bill was brought in, there appeared to be some fresh clauses added, particularly one, subjecting officers upon half-pay to the penalties of the bill. This was warmly opposed, as being dangerous to the constitution.

Mr. *Pitt* defended the clause. 'What danger,' he asked, 'could arise from obliging a half-pay officer to continue upon the military establishment? It is admitted on all hands, that while he is in full pay he must employ his time, his study,

and even his sword, as his superiors shall direct. There may possibly be danger in this, but it never can happen until the direction becomes wicked, nor prevented but by the virtue of the army. It is to that virtue we even at this time trust, small as our army is; it is to that virtue we must have trusted, had this bill been modelled as its warmest opposers could have wished; and without this virtue should the Lords, the Commons, and the people of England, entrench themselves behind parchment up to the teeth, the sword will find a passage to the vitals of the constitution.'

A petition from the city of Glasgow, praying to be reimbursed the sum of ten thousand pounds, extorted from that city by the Pretender during the late rebellion, occasioned a debate in a committee of supply, on the 12th of April 1749; when it was moved to grant the said sum. The motion was opposed by Mr. *Bowes*; other towns, he said, deserved the same favour; and if this sum was granted to Glasgow, other places having the same claim, would expect the like.

He was answered by Mr. *Pitt*, who said*, 'I shall not enter into a dispute with the honourable gentleman, whether there are not

* This speech was also written by *Gordon*.

many places, both in England and Scotland, that have an equal pretence to loyalty as the city of Glasgow, and that shewed as much zeal for the support of the government during the late rebellion, as that city; but this I will aver, that there was no city, town, or place in Great Britain, that suffered so much, or that shewed greater zeal in the same circumstances. And without derogating from the merit of any one, I may say, that there are not many cities in the united kingdom that have so often or so remarkably distinguished themselves in the cause of liberty. It was this, Sir; it was the whole tenor of this city's conduct, from the time of the Reformation, that drew the resentment of the rebels upon it, and made them resolve upon the extravagant demand they at first made upon that city. If they had insisted upon their first demand, the city must have been ruined; because it would have been impossible for the inhabitants to have raised such a sum. Of this they had the good fortune to convince the chiefs of the rebels; and even the rebels shewed that they had no inclination to ruin such a flourishing city, though the inhabitants appeared generally to be their enemies. Shall a British Parliament, Sir, shew less regard to their friends than the rebels shewed to their enemies? The rebels gave them 10,000*l.*; that is to say, they passed from 10,000*l.*

of their first demand, rather than ruin the city; and this I may the more justly call giving them 10,000l. because if the rebels had plundered the city, they would have found three times the value of that sum among the inhabitants. If, then, the rebels gave that city 10,000l. rather than expose it to ruin, shall a British Parliament refuse to give it 10,000l. to preserve it from ruin?

‘ It really shocks me, Sir, to see such a question stand a debate in a British House of Commons. If the rebels had succeeded in their flagitious attempt, and had called a slavish Parliament, for they would never have called a free one, I should not have wondered to see such a question opposed in a House of Commons assembled by their authority; but it astonishes me to see such a question opposed in a House where every member present professes his friendship for that city, and acknowledges the gratitude due to it from the public for its behaviour. The hon. gentleman told us, he did not intend to depreciate the real merit of the city of Glasgow: I do not know what he intended, but he endeavoured to shew that the behaviour of that city was not so meritorious as represented, because they attempted nothing in favour of government till after the rebels had marched into England, from

whence they had reason to expect that none of them would ever return. This, Sir, was certainly an insinuation that the people of Glasgow never did any thing in favour of the government, as long as they thought the government in any danger from the rebellion; and if this had really been the case, I should have had no great opinion of their merit. But I will shew that, before the rebel army entered England, it was not in the power of the people of Glasgow to do any thing in favour of the government; and that they had not the then least reason to imagine that government was out of all danger from the rebellion.

‘When we consider, Sir, that the rebels marched through one half of England, without any opposition from the militia; when we consider that even in their retreat, though persued by the Duke and the regular forces, they met with no obstruction from the militia; we cannot with any justice blame the south or west parts of Scotland for not opposing them with their militia. And as to the city of Glasgow, it had neither time to provide for its defence, nor was it capable of making a resistance, had it had time. The town is an open town, without so much as a wall round it, and the inhabitants had neither arms, ammunition, nor any sort of military discipline

among them; so that it was impossible for them to think of opposing an army of Highlanders, who are, by the care of their chiefs, bred up to arms and military discipline from their infancy. Besides, they had no time for such an undertaking; for the rebels came down upon them in a very few weeks after first appearing in arms; and, till the battle at Preston, every one had reason to believe that General *Cope*, with the forces under his command, would have given a good account of them.

‘ The case was very different, Sir, both with regard to Newcastle and Carlisle, because both being surrounded with a wall may, in a few days, be so fortified as to be able to resist a flying party. Yet how little resistance did the latter make? For though they had many weeks to prepare for their defence; though they had hopes of being relieved in a few days by the army then assembled at Newcastle, under Marshal *Wade*, they gave up their city the very next day after they found the rebels were preparing for a general assault; and yet that city, or at least the castle, might have held out much longer against the rebels, who had no battering cannon along with them; for a small party of the rebels held out the castle afterwards for some days against the Duke, and would probably

have held out much longer if they had not heard that some battering cannon were upon the road from Whitehaven to be employed against them.

‘ Now, Sir, as to the opinion the people of Glasgow might have of the safety of the government, or the event of the rebellion, at the time the rebel army marched into England, they could not have such thoughts of either as the hon. gentleman was pleased to represent; for as to the small number of that army, the people in Scotland had from thence reason to fear that the rebels were well assured of being joined by great numbers in England, or that there was treachery both in his Majesty’s councils and armies; for, without some such hopes, no one could suppose that men of common sense would think of invading England with an army of 5 or 6000 Highlanders. At the time of the Revolution, it was at first said, that the Prince of Orange was to invade England with an army of 30,000 men, and many of the King’s friends seemed to be frightened at the news; a noble Lord, who was known to be a firm friend, seemed to make light of the news, and said he apprehended no danger from such an army; but when it was afterwards reported that the Prince was to bring 20,000, he began to be afraid; and when he heard that the Prince was to come with 14,000 only, then cries he, “ We

are undone!" When they asked him the reason why he was so much afraid of 14,000, when he seemed no way afraid of 30,000, he answered, "An army of 30,000 could not conquer England; but no man would come here with an army of 14,000, if he was not sure of finding a great many traitors amongst ourselves."

' This, Sir, soon appeared to be a just way of thinking; and though the event shewed that, if the rebels had any such hopes, those hopes were very ill-grounded; yet this the people of Glasgow could not foresee; therefore, from the small number of the rebel army, they had, according to the same way of thinking, rather cause to dread the event, than to suppose that none of that army would ever return: Nor could they suppose this from the spirit that appeared in England in favour of the government; for though I am very well convinced that this spirit was sincere and true, yet I am afraid if the rebel-leader could have persuaded his people to have ventured a battle against the Duke in Staffordshire, or to have given him the slip, marched towards London, and fought a battle near this city, the fate of England would have depended upon the issue of that battle; for if they had obtained a victory, and made themselves masters of Lon-

don, I question much if the spirit of the populace would not soon have taken a very different turn.

‘ I must therefore conclude, Sir, that when the rebel army marched to England, the people of Glasgow could form no judgment with any certainty about the event of the rebellion ; and consequently, that what they did afterwards could proceed from nothing but their steady attachment to this government ; and I must add, that their zeal was much the more meritorious, as it was manifested after they had severely smarted for it, in having such a large sum of money extorted from them by the rebels, merely on account of the zeal they had formerly shewn for supporting the liberties of their country. A burnt child, they say, dreads the fire ; and if the people of Glasgow, after having smarted so sensibly for their loyalty, had resolved to lie quiet, and wait the event of things, their conduct would have been excusable. By holding such a conduct they would have been considerable gainers, even though we should grant the money now moved for. But they honestly and bravely resolved not to be idle spectators of the confusions of their country. They resolved to be active in putting a happy end to them as soon as possible ; and with this view, as soon as they

had an opportunity, they put themselves to very great expence.

‘ To say, Sir, that this expence was attended with no success or effect, is what no man can say with any certainty; for the regiment they raised and sent to Stirling, with two more, so effectually guarded that pass, that no reinforcement ever did march that way to the rebels; and the regiment they kept at home very probably prevented any reinforcement being sent by the way of Glasgow. And though our army was unfortunate at the affair of Falkirk, yet if the Glasgow regiment had not been there, it might have been much more unfortunate, and the victory of the rebels more complete; for though that regiment was engaged in the action, it is evident that it was not defeated and dispersed, because, if it had, the men would have run home, whereas it retreated in good order to Edinburgh, without the loss of a man, except those that were killed, wounded or taken prisoners at the battle.

‘ As to the behaviour of the northern counties, and that of Newcastle in particular, comparisons are odious, Sir; and I should have avoided making any, if I had not been forced to it by the hon. gentleman who spoke last. I shall readily acknowledge, and gratefully own, the dutiful

zeal of all these places for the support of his Majesty's government; and I must likewise confess that those who do not desire from the public any reimbursement of the expence they were at upon that occasion, have more merit than those that do; but at the same time must observe, that before the rebels left Edinburgh, all those places were secured against any visit from them, not only by the strong town of Berwick, but by an army equal to that of the rebels, encamped near Newcastle, and commanded by one of the best generals in the service; whereas the inhabitants of Glasgow shewed their zeal for his Majesty, even when the rebels were masters of their country. And as to the expence, it must be acknowledged that, over and above the relief now prayed for, that city was, either voluntarily or by compulsion, at a much greater expence in proportion than any of the places mentioned; for, from what was said by the gentleman at your bar, it appears that, over and above the two fines extorted from them by the rebels, their expence amounted to above 8000*l.*; which is greater than what the town of Newcastle is said to have been put to; and is, I am sure, more in proportion for the single city of Glasgow alone than 30,000*l.* is for the whole county of York. Besides, Sir, none of those places suffered any interruption in their trade or manufactures,

whereas the trade and manufactures of Glasgow were at a full stop, almost during the whole time of the rebellion. To which I must add, that the expence of the former was voluntary, whereas a great part of the latter's expence was by compulsion, which makes a very great difference; for people may generously contribute more to the assistance of government, as all those places did, but they will never voluntarily contribute more than they can spare; whereas a people may be forced to contribute what would infallibly prove their ruin, should they meet with no retribution; which is the case now before us.

‘ Then, Sir, as to the city of Carlisle, the rebels might perhaps raise the taxes there, as they did in many other places; but I cannot think they imposed any fine upon that city: I am rather inclined to think they favoured it, because the people absolutely refused to support his Majesty's commanding officer there in making a stout resistance, which was the cause of the city and castle's being surrendered. I therefore think we have no need to be afraid of an application for relief from any of those places; at least, I am sure that if any such application should be made, it cannot be so well supported as the application now under our consideration; and consequently our complying with this can

be no precedent for our complying with any future.

‘ But that of introducing a bad precedent, is not, it seems, Sir, the only danger we are to expose ourselves to by agreeing to this motion: We are besides threatened with the danger of exciting a rebellion in England. This, Sir, is so imaginary a danger, that I cannot think there is any one gentleman in this House that is really afraid of it. If there should be no future application of this kind, we can be in no such danger; because no man can be disobliged at the Parliament’s not granting him relief if he does not apply for it; and I have good reason to hope that there will be no such future application. I hope all gentlemen and bodies politic in Great Britain will follow the example of the city of Glasgow, and desire no relief for what they voluntarily contributed towards the support of his Majesty’s government, nor for what they suffered in being obliged to give free quarters to the rebels; and if we have no application upon either of these heads, I believe we can have no application made to us upon any other. But suppose we should have some applications, we shall then have an opportunity to consider their merits; and if the circumstances of the petitioners should appear to be the same with those of the pe-

petitioners now before us, I do not question their meeting with the same success. If their circumstances should appear to be different, and not near so meritorious, we may refuse their petition with safety; because, however partial they may be, in their own favour, the rest of the nation will judge impartially, and approve our refusal; and if the rest of the nation approve it, we can be in no danger of its exciting a rebellion in this part of the kingdom.

‘ Another danger we are threatened with upon this occasion is, that if we agree to this motion it will encourage people not to be active in defending themselves against any future invasion or insurrection, or perhaps, under the pretence of force, to contribute to its support. This I shall grant, Sir, might be the consequence of laying it down as a general principle, that all who suffer by an invasion or insurrection shall have their loss made good by the public; and therefore it would be wrong to lay down such a general principle. But if the laying down a principle would surely be wrong, it would be much more so to lay the contrary down as an unalterable maxim of state. It would be unjust, as well as imprudent, to lay it down as a principle, that those who honestly and bravely risk their lives and fortunes in opposition to an invasion or insurrection, and have suffered severely on account of that opposition, should meet with no

relief from the public, especially when their preservation or ruin depends upon that relief, which appears to be the case now before us. And if we consider this, we must allow that if we think of the justice due to the public creditors, or of relieving our poor labourers and manufactures, we must agree to this motion, because the public revenue will suffer a great deal more by the ruin of such a trading town as Glasgow, than it can suffer by granting the relief desired by the petitioners for preventing that ruin.

‘This relief, Sir, they cannot have from the produce of the forfeited estates in Scotland. It would be like prescribing a remedy to a sick man, which could not be got ready till after his distemper had put an end to his life. It will be several years before any thing can be made of those estates; and in the mean time the city of Glasgow must be ruined with law charges, by their creditors suing for their money, which they will certainly do if their interest be not regularly paid. This it is impossible for the corporation to do out of their present income, and at the same time support their necessary annual expence; therefore their ruin must be inevitable, or the relief now moved for must be granted.’

The motion was agreed to.

The session ended the 13th of June 1749.

Nothing material happened during the summer.

On the 16th of November 1749, Parliament met again; when it appeared that the party in opposition had increased considerably in number; and being under the patronage of the Prince of *Wales*, who was highly popular at this time, they were, from that circumstance, favourably judged of by the public. The address, and many other points were warmly debated; but Mr. *Pitt* did not speak upon any of them.

When the Mutiny bill was brought in (January 1750), Col. *George Townshend*, afterwards Marquis *Townshend*, proposed a clause by way of rider, for preventing any non-commissioned officer being broke or reduced to the ranks, or any soldier being punished but by the sentence of a court-martial. He informed the House that his clause was founded upon indubitable facts. He said he had witnesses at the door to prove that a sergeant and corporal were reduced to the ranks because some of their party in the rear, as they were going upon duty to the play-house, happened to say in the street, *Vandeput for ever!* For this heinous offence, which they could not pre-

vent, the two non-commissioned officers were, without trial, reduced to the ranks. There was a long debate.

Mr. *Pitt*, who was still Paymaster, spoke against the clause:—

‘ I never will agree,’ he said, ‘ to call officers and soldiers to the bar of this House to traduce and impeach each other. If they once learn the way to come here with their complaints, they will next come with their petitions. Our business is to consider of the number of forces necessary for the defence of this kingdom and our possessions, and to grant the money for the maintaining that number. We have no business with the conduct of the army, or the officers or soldiers complaints; those are subjects which belong to the King, or to such as shall be commissioned by him to hear them. If we give ear to them, we shall not only destroy the discipline of the army, but make Parliament detestable; for it will be impossible to give satisfaction to both parties; besides causing great trouble and neglect of duty, in coming from distant parts of the kingdom. Therefore I hope, Sir, the House will not permit any inquiry to be made into the complaint that has been offered. There is not the least pretence for saying that it relates to the freedom of

election; nor to the particular election for Westminster now going on. It relates singly to the duty of two non-commissioned officers, sent out with a party upon duty, and it was the sergeant's duty to have made report of this circumstance if it happened, and he knew of it, to his commanding officer. Why he did not is not for us to inquire; nor is it a question for this House to determine whether the commanding officer has punished his sergeant and corporal with unmerited severity. It belongs to a court-martial, or board of officers.'

The clause was withdrawn.

On the 5th of February 1750, Lord *Egmont* moved for copies of all letters and papers relative to the demolition of Dunkirk, according to the late treaty of Aix la Chapelle*.

Mr. *Pitt* opposed this motion. He said, 'it was not only impolitic but dangerous; as tending to involve the nation in another war with France, when it was notorious we were in no

* Lord *Melcombe* says (in his Diary), that this motion originated with the Prince; and when the inutility of it was represented to his Royal Highness, he said, "That making the motion would make the ministry feel they had *la corde au col*."

situation adequate to bear the expence. It was a very good answer to the motion to say it was premature; for since the conclusion of the treaty there had not yet been opportunity to execute all the articles of it; that the cost of the work being to be defrayed and performed by the French, they may say, "our finances are reduced, we cannot afford the money at present, but shall in a little time." At all events the motion,' he said, 'was highly improper at that moment. It was an affront to the French court, and as we were not in a condition to support it by any strong measures, it was exhibiting our petulance and impotence.—At a future period, with a recruited finance and repaired marine, the motion may be proper, if the terms of the treaty have not been complied with. But if the motion is carried, and it should come out that Dunkirk is now in the state that it was in by the treaty of Utrecht, explained in the year 1717, which he believed to be the fact, would any gentleman say this was a crime in the present ministry, or a sufficient reason for a quarrel with France?'

The motion was negatived by 242 to 115.

On the 17th of January 1751, the Parliament met. The King, in his speech, informed them that he had concluded a treaty with Spain, and

another with the Elector of Bavaria. The address was moved in the usual style, *approving* of these treaties, although they had not then been laid before the House; which occasioned a long debate.

Lord *Egmont* moved to leave out all the words of *approbation* in the address. He was answered by

Mr. *Pitt*, who said, 'The treaty with Bavaria was founded in the best political wisdom; it was a wise measure, as tending most effectually to preserve the balance of power in Germany, and of course to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. The Elector of Bavaria was taken off from the French interest by it, which, as it contributed to weaken the House of Bourbon, it contributed to the continuation of peace.—The treaty with Spain was a wise and advantageous measure. The court of Spain had agreed to many concessions; they had agreed to pay a large sum to the South Sea Company; to the re-establishment of the British trade in Spain, that British subjects were to pay no other duties on merchandize than what the King of Spain's own subjects were to pay.'—Lord *Egmont* had observed that the claim of *no search* had not been revived in the treaty; and not being even mentioned, this essential point

had been totally abandoned. To this part of Lord *Egmont's* speech Mr. *Pitt* answered, 'That he had once been an advocate for that claim: It was when he was a young man; but now he was ten years older; had considered public affairs more coolly, and was convinced that the claim of *no search* respecting British vessels near the coast of Spanish America could never be obtained, unless Spain was so reduced as to consent to any terms her conqueror might think proper to impose.'

Lord *Egmont's* motion was negatived, by 203 against 74.

On the 20th of March the Prince of *Wales* died.

It is not the design of this work to state the particulars of any event, which have been already related in other books, unless such relation is very erroneous. This event is no otherwise necessary to mention here than as it annihilated the plan of a regular and systematic opposition that was forming, and when completed was intended to act under his Royal Highness's protection and controul. Lord *Melcombe's* printed account admits this fact in part. But there are letters from persons of the first consideration

which may, perhaps, on some future day be printed, which state this, and other traits of the Prince's character, stronger, and with more truth than Lord *Melcombe* has done.

The printed accounts of the Prince's character are not very exact. Perhaps they were written very soon after his death, when an impartial writer might be influenced by caution; for all sorts of ministers are eager to prosecute the liberty of the press, when they can do it under the pretence of defending royalty. Nor is it less true, that when they are dismissed from office, no subjects are more eager to exercise this privilege. These accounts state the Prince to have been a man of most excellent talents, and possessing a thorough knowledge of the British constitution, &c. &c. No assertions can be more distant from truth. The best of his qualifications might be negatively described. His heart was not bad; nor was he an enemy to the kingdom; he amassed no private treasures, nor adopted any sinister advice with a view to obtain them; he was not insane, nor under the private tuition of the Princess.

CHAPTER IX.

The Regency appointed.—Debate upon it.—Conduct of the King.—The Bedfords turned out.—Mr. Pitt's treatment of the Duke of Newcastle.—Mr. Pitt's Bill for the Relief of the Chelsea Pensioners.

THE death of the Prince of *Wales* filled the opposition with the greatest consternation and confusion. Several of them thought of making terms with the minister—others of seceding—and some were for remaining with the Princess, and taking the chance of events.

The first measure of government was the settlement of a regency, which was done upon fair and liberal terms. The Princess Dowager was made Regent, and guardian of the minor, as well as of her other children. Being a female, there was a council of regency appointed, consisting of the great officers of state, and the Duke of *Cumberland* was placed at the head of it. This compliment to the Duke occasioned some invidious speeches in Parliament, from gentlemen who

were not acquainted with the Duke's real character.—Time has shewn that the analogies they offered in the way of prophecy had not the least foundation in truth. The Duke had, in the judgment of these gentlemen, treated the Scots rebels with too much severity. But this was a justifiable severity. And those who had latent designs forgave not the disappointment of them.

The debate was upon the clause respecting the council. Mr. *Pitt* defended the bill; but by something he said concerning the council, Mr. *Fox* thought he hinted at the Duke of *Cumberland*, and began defending the Duke; but Mr. *Pitt* explained in such terms that Mr. *Fox* went away without dividing. The debate being in a committee, the Speaker (*Onslow*) made a very able speech against the clause, which he deprecated as fraught with great and probable evils; he dreaded no improper ambition in the Duke; nothing, he was confident, was farther from his Royal Highness's heart; but his apprehension was, that the Duke and Princess would not *coalesce* in measures; and he insinuated in delicate terms, his anxiety upon the misunderstanding which subsisted between the Princess Dowager and the Princess *Amelia*; and the warm affection between the latter Princess and her

brother. This speech gave Mr. *Pelham* a great deal of uneasiness, and he often mentioned it.

The Regent was not impeded in her just authority by any harsh conditions; nor were there any limitations of her power introduced that implied the least suspicion of her integrity or rectitude. The King himself treated her with every mark of respect, attention, and affection. He frequently visited her; 12,500*l.* were immediately paid her; and notwithstanding the war which quickly followed demanded greater supplies than the war of any former period, yet her money was constantly paid. And when the Prince of *Wales* (*George III.*) arrived at the age of eighteen, the King ordered him a separate allowance (over and above what was given to the Princess) of 40,000*l.* *per annum* from his civil list.

The party which had arranged themselves under the late Prince of *Wales*, being now without head or cement, the *Pelhams* saw they had an opportunity of increasing the number of their supporters, by embracing the fugitives, and turning out the Duke of *Bedford* and his friends, who had never acted cordially with them, not even during the war. In June 1751, the Duke of *Bedford* was dismissed from the office of secretary of

state, and Lord *Sandwich* from the post of first lord of the admiralty, Lord *Trentham* (since created Marquis of *Stafford*), from the same board, and some others of his Grace's friends from other offices. These noblemen and gentlemen being joined by those of the late Prince's party, who had not united with the *Pelhams*, they formed a fresh opposition; and though they were not considerable in number, they were supposed to be privately countenanced by the Duke of *Cumberland*, and to have a secret communication with Mr. *For*. Lord *Holderness* succeeded the Duke of *Bedford*, and Lord *Anson* was placed at the admiralty.

The session closed in June, and nothing material happened during the summer.

Parliament met again on the 14th of November 1751, but there were no debates; and the session closed on the 25th of March 1752. Five days after the Parliament rose the King went to Hanover. During his Majesty's absence, there was a great deal of intriguing and negotiating amongst all parties. But in every one of these negotiations Mr. *Pitt* and the *Grenvilles* were totally omitted; however, the increasing weight and consequence of Mr. *Pitt* in the House of Commons, excited the jealousy of the principal

persons in office, as well as of those in opposition. He was not ignorant of the clandestine projects of both parties; but he despised them. In one conference he had with the Duke of *Newcastle*, he treated that nobleman in such a manner, that if he had not dreaded him he would have dismissed him; for he still held the post of Paymaster. The subject of the conference was the measures which the King was taking in Germany, to secure the election of a King of the Romans. In this conference Mr. *Pitt* told his Grace, that he engaged for subsidies without knowing the extent of the sums, and for alliances without knowing the terms. The Duke complained of Mr. *Pitt's* hauteur to his confidential friend, Mr. *Stone*, who advised his Grace to overlook it, saying it would be most prudent.

In the succeeding session, which began on the 11th of January 1753, and ended the 7th of June in the same year, Mr. *Pitt* took no part in any of the debates.

And he was also totally silent in the next session, which commenced on the fifteenth of November 1753, and closed on the 6th of April 1754.

In 1754 Parliament was dissolved,

The new parliament met on the 14th of November. Mr. *Pitt* was still in his office of Paymaster. The next day (the 15th), as soon as the address was reported, Mr. *Pitt* moved for leave to bring in a bill which will be an everlasting monument to his humanity. He prefaced this motion with a melancholy description of the hardships to which the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital were exposed by the present improper mode of paying their pensions. The poor disabled veterans, he said, who were entitled to this excellent charity, were cruelly oppressed by a number of wretches who supplied them with money in advance. By the present method, the poor man can receive no money until he has been twelve months upon the list. This was extremely unjust, because the poor veteran's merit and claim to the charity commenced from the moment of his disability in the service. But by this delay of the first payment, he was under the necessity of borrowing money upon the certificate of his admission upon the list. He was supplied with a pittance by one of the people called usurers, who compelled the poor wretch to allow him a most exorbitant interest. The practice continuing a few years, the pensioner had nothing to subsist on; the whole of his pension being swallowed up in usury. To remedy this grievance, he proposed, by his bill, that

when the pensioner was admitted upon the list, half a year's pension should be advanced and paid him; with some other regulations on the same humane principle, and the bill to commence on the 25th of December 1754.—The bill was immediately brought in, and unanimously passed both Houses, with uncommon expedition.

Mr. *Pitt* took no part in the debates during the session, which ended on the 25th of April 1755; and three days after the King set out for Hanover.

CHAPTER X.

Death of Mr. Pelham.—Mr. Fox wishes to succeed Mr. Pelham, and to be Minister of the House of Commons.—Explanation of Minister of the House of Commons.—Mr. Pitt expects to be made Secretary of State.—Sir Thomas Robinson appointed. General Dissatisfaction.—Party at Leicester-House.—State of the Nation.

IN March 1754, Mr. *Pelham* died. This event proved as fatal to the ministry as the death of the Prince of *Wales* had been to the opposition.

Mr. *Fox*, who was secretary at war, wished to succeed to Mr. *Pelham's* situation, and the opposition offered to act under him if he was appointed; but the Duke of *Newcastle* said, "He had been *second* minister long enough; that he would not have acted in that capacity under any body but his brother, and now his brother was gone he would be at the head of the treasury himself." Mr. *Fox* then solicited the Duke to succeed his Grace in the office of secretary of state; and it is very probable that this request would have been granted, had he not insisted upon having the management of the House of Commons, which the Duke peremptorily refused; and upon that point the negotiation broke off.

The management of the House of Commons, as it is called, is a confidential department, unknown to the constitution. In the public accounts, it is immersed under the head of secret service. It is usually given to the secretary of state, when that post is filled by a commoner. The business of the department is to distribute with *art* and *policy*, amongst the members who have no ostensible places, sums of money for their support during the session; besides contracts, lottery tickets, and other douceurs. It is no uncommon circumstance, at the end of a

session, for a gentleman to receive five hundred or a thousand pounds for *his services**.

* Mr. Fox was so confident his negotiation with the Duke would succeed, that while it was pending, he sent the following letter to his friends :

“ SIR,

“ The King has declared his intention to make me secretary of state, and I (very unworthy as I fear I am of such an undertaking) *must take the conduct of the House of Commons*. I cannot, therefore, well accept the office, till after the first day's debate, which may be a warm one. A great attendance that day of my friends will be of the greatest consequence to my future situation, and I should be extremely happy, if you would, for that reason, shew yourself amongst them, to the great honour of &c. &c.

“ H. FOX.”

In the Memoirs of the Marchioness of Pompadour (vol. i. pages 57, 58, 59, Eng. trans. 1766) we are presented with a very interesting anecdote, written to Cardinal Fleury, by an *English minister* of that time :

“ I pension (writes the minister) *half* the Parliament, to keep it *quiet*. But as the King's money is not sufficient, they, to whom I give none, clamour loudly for a war; it would be expedient for your eminence to remit me three millions of French livres, in order to silence these barkers. *Gold* is a metal which here corrects all ill qualities in the blood. A pension of 2000l. a-year will make the most impetuous warrior in Parliament as *tame as a lamb*.”

When it was known that the Duke of *Newcastle* intended the Treasury for himself, Mr. *Pitt* expected that the seals of secretary of state would have been offered to him. It is certain that he did not ask for them, but he expected them without asking. This disappointment was in some degree palliated by making Mr. *George Grenville* treasurer of the navy, who at that time lived in the utmost intimacy with Mr. *Pitt*, and was become his relation, by Mr. *Pitt* having lately married his sister. Mr. *Legge* was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and Sir *Thomas Robinson* secretary of state, and some other alterations were made. But notwithstanding this arrangement, there was a general dissatisfaction throughout all parties. Some disliked the measures, others disliked the men; in fine, nobody was pleased; neither those in office, nor those out; and there was a new party forming that seemed to menace more danger to their views than their own differences. This was the

By the help of this anecdote, we are enabled to comprehend the *mystical* meaning of a minister's *planning* of a Parliament, and of a minister's *conducting a House of Commons*. The former phrase we find used by Mr. *Tindall*, in the octavo edition of his *History of England*, vol. xxi. page 439—it runs thus: “Mr. P——, before his death, had settled the *plan* of the new Parliament.”—And same vol. page 510, he subjoins—“As to the elections, they went much in the same track *that had been laid out by Mr. P——*,”

party of Leicester-house, which threw a general alarm and consternation over the whole. No one was quite certain of whom this party consisted. Several individuals in office, and in opposition, were suspected of secretly belonging to it.

Another circumstance, not less alarming to the ministry than to the whole nation, was the flame of war which had been kindled in North America, and threatened to burst out in Europe. Great Britain was at this period every day more closely riveted to the continent by fresh engagements, while her own proper affairs were totally neglected. Her fleet was rotting in ordinary; her army, except such corps as were under the eye of the Duke of *Cumberland*, relaxed in discipline.—Her ministers were timid by disunion, and their measures were enervated by ignorance. However unpleasing the fact may be to relate, it is a fact which the best informed persons will not contradict, that the principal, if not only attention of all descriptions of men, was employed at this time in intriguing and negotiating for places. But in this general assertion, it is not to be understood that all parties were influenced by the same motives. There is no doubt that some persons were actuated by the passion of self-interest; but it is equally true

that there were many who were governed by a sincere desire to serve the country; that offices were no otherwise their objects than as they gave them power and situation to do good. This distinction it is not only proper, but necessary, to make; because it was a principle laid down in the next reign, and the votaries of the court disseminated it with uncommon art and industry, that all mankind were knaves alike; that the subjects of all Kings ought to look for honesty in the royal bosom; they said it resided no-where else. This political blasphemy came with unpardonable effrontery from the followers of a court, which owed its elevation to the true orthodox principles of the constitution.

CHAP. XI.

Causes of the Disagreement at Leicester House.—

Lord Harcourt and Dr. Hayter resign their Posts of Governor and Preceptor to the Prince.

—Duke of Bedford's motion upon this Subject in the House of Lords.—Further Explanation of the Principles inculcated at Leicester-House.

UPON the death of *Frederick Prince of Wales*, the education of the Prince (*George III.*) had been committed to Lord *Harcourt* as governor;

to Dr. *Hayter*, Bishop of Norwich, as preceptor; and to *Andrew Stone*, Esq. brother to the Primate of that name, as sub-governor; recommended by the Duke of *Newcastle*; and to Mr. *Scott* as sub-preceptor, recommended by Lord *Bolingbroke*.—In about a year and a half a disagreement broke out amongst them of a most important nature. It was said by the friends of Leicester-house, that the governor and preceptor did not discharge the duties of their trust with fidelity. But it came out afterwards that this complaint lay deeper than was at first supposed. There were two persons concerned in this affair whom it is proper to mention particularly. Mr. *Stone* was the most confidential friend and adviser of the Duke of *Newcastle*. The other, Mr. *Murray*, afterwards Lord *Mansfield*, was in precisely the same situation and degree of credit with Mr. *Pelham*. Between Mr. *Stone* and Mr. *Murray* there subsisted the warmest intimacy; not only their friendships, but their principles and politics, were perfectly congenial. Lord *Bute*, who had been lord of the bedchamber to the late Prince, and was continued in the family, gained a superior influence, by assiduity and attention. He was moreover favoured by the Princess. The reserve of Lord *Harcourt*, and the very orderly demeanour of the Bishop, gave great advantage to Lord *Bute*, who excelled in the assumption of

theatrical grace and gesture; which added to a good figure, rendered his conversation particularly pleasing, and at length created a partiality in his favour. The Duke of *Newcastle* and Mr. *Pelham* had information of every circumstance at *Leicester-house*. In a little time the Bishop found some very improper books put into the hands of the Prince. He complained of this matter to the Duke of *Newcastle*, and in a few days Lord *Harcourt* and the Bishop resigned. From the period of making this counter complaint, it became a struggle between the party of *Leicester-house* and the *Pelhams*, which should have the power of educating the Prince. —while this dispute was going on, a third party (the *Bedfords*) interfered for the same purpose; by attacking *Stone* and *Murray*. These gentlemen were charged with being *Jacobites*. Lord *Ravenworth* brought the charge. A committee of the privy council was directed to inquire into it. The committee sat several times upon it: But the two confidants had the address to acquit themselves, although Mr. *Fawcett*, recorder of *Newcastle*, swore to their having drank the Pretender's health several times.

On the 22d of March 1753, the Duke of *Bedford* made the following motion in the House of Lords: "That an humble address be presented

to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give orders, that there be laid before this House the several examinations of the Lord *Racensworth*, the Dean of *Durham*, Mr. *Fawcett*, the Lord Bishop of *St. Asaph*, the Lord Bishop of *Gloucester*, the hon. Mr. *Murray*, his Majesty's Solicitor-general, *Andrew Stone*, Esq. and such other examinations upon oath as have been taken before the Lords appointed by his Majesty to inquire into informations of a very material nature, relating to a person in the service of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of *Wales* and Prince *Edward*, and the other persons mentioned in the course of the said examinations; likewise all letters and papers relative thereto, and the report made by their Lordships to his Majesty thereupon." But the Duke of *Newcastle*, and the rest of the ministry, were against the motion, and therefore it was negatived. Lord *Harcourt* said in the debate, that he found he had no authority over the Prince's education, nor could he be of any service unless the sub-governor and others (*Scott* and *Cresset**) were dismissed, all of whom, he had strong reasons to believe, were *Jacobites*, and therefore he had resigned. The *Pelhams* thought they had gained their point in the protection of *Stone* and *Murray*, and in ap-

* *Cresset* was secretary to the Princess; and upon her recommendation, was appointed treasurer to the Prince.

pointing Lord *Waldegrave* and the Primate to succeed the resigners; while the fact was, they were deceived and betrayed by their own people. By this secret manœuvre, the influence and ascendancy of Lord *Bute* were completely established. At that time was circulated, by the *Bedford party*, a remarkable paper, which the reader will find in the note*. And in the

* *A Memorial of several Noblemen and Gentlemen, of the first rank and fortune.*

The Memorialists represent,

THAT the education of the Prince of *Wales* is of the utmost importance to the whole nation.—That it ought always to be entrusted to Noblemen of the most unblemished honour, and to Prelates of the most distinguished virtue, of the most accomplished learning, and of the most unsuspected principles with regard to government both in the church and state:—That the misfortunes which the nation formerly suffered, or escaped, under King Charles I. King Charles II. and King James II. were owing to the bad education of those Princes, who were early initiated in maxims of arbitrary power:—That for a faction to engross the education of the Prince of *Wales* to themselves, excluding men of probity and learning, is unwarrantable, dangerous, and illegal:—That to place men about the Prince of *Wales* whose principles are suspected, and whose belief in the mysteries of our faith is doubtful, has the most mischievous tendency, and ought justly to alarm the friends of their country, and of the Protestant succession:—That for a minister to support low men, who were originally improper for the high trust to which they were advanced, after complaints made of dark, suspicious, and unwarrantable methods made use of by such men, in their plan of education,

weekly paper called *The Protester* (printed in small folio) like *The North Briton*, *Auditor*, &c.

and to protect and countenance such men in their insolent and unheard-of behaviour to their superiors, is a foundation for suspecting the worst designs in such ministers:—That it being notorious that books*, inculcating the worst maxims of government, and defending the most avowed tyrannies, have been put into the hands of the Prince of *Wales*, it cannot but affect the memorialists with the most melancholy apprehensions, when they find that the men who had the honesty and resolution to complain of such astonishing methods of instruction are driven away from court†, and the men who have dared to teach such doctrines are continued in trust and favour:—That the security of this government being built on Whig principles, is alone supported by Whig zeal:—That the establishment of the present Royal Family being settled in the timely overthrow of Queen

* Father Orleans's *Revolutions of the House of Stuart*.—Ramsay's *Travels of Cyrus*.—Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarch*; and other books inculcating the same principles.

† Alluding to the resignations of Lord Harcourt and Dr. Hayter, who were succeeded by Lord Waldegrave and Dr. Stone.

The following lines were written under Dr. Hayter's portrait, published at this time;

“ Not gentler virtues glowed in Cambray's breast,
Not more his young Telemachus was blest;
Till envy, faction, and ambitious rage,
Drove from a guilty court the pious sage.
Back to his flock with transport he withdrew,
And but one sigh, an honest one, he knew!
O guard my royal pupil, Heaven! he said,
Let not his youth be, like my age, betray'd!
I would have form'd his footsteps in thy way,
But vice prevails, and impious men bear sway.”

(and which seems to be the paper alluded to by Lord *Melcombe*, in his Diary, p. 235, 236), num-

Anne's last ministry, it cannot but alarm all true Whigs to hear of schoolmasters of very contrary principles being thought of for preceptors, and to see none but the friends and pupils of the late Lord *Bolingbroke* intrusted with the education of a Prince whose family that Lord endeavoured by his measures to exclude, and by his writings to expel from the throne of these kingdoms:—That there being great reason to believe that a noble Lord has accused one of the preceptors of Jacobitism, it is astonishing that no notice has been taken of a complaint of so high a nature; on the contrary, the accused person continues in the same trust, without any inquiry into the grounds of the charge, or any step taken by the accused to purge himself of a crime of so black a dye:—That no satisfaction being given to the governor and preceptor, one of whom, though a nobleman of the most unblemished honour, and the other a prelate of the most unbiassed virtue, who have both been treated in the grossest terms of abuse by a menial servant of the family; it is derogatory to his Majesty's authority under which they acted; is an affront to the Peerage; and an outrage to the dignity of the church:—That whoever advised the refusal of an audience to the Bishop of Norwich, who was so justly alarmed at the wrong methods which he saw taken in the education of the Prince of *Wales*, is an enemy to this country, and can only mean at least to govern by a faction, or is himself influenced by a more dangerous faction, which intends to overthrow the government, and restore that of the exiled and arbitrary house of *Stuart*:—That to have a Scotchman [*Murray*] of a most disaffected family, and allied in the nearest manner to the Pretender's first minister, consulted in the education of the Prince of *Wales*, and intrusted with the most important secrets of government, must tend to alarm and disgust the friends of the present Royal Family, and to encourage the hopes and attempts of the Jacobites:—Lastly,

ber XV. September 8, 1753, after saying a good deal about *Stone*, are these words: "And whatever may be the misgivings and repinings of those who expected a kingdom of their own, and who now see themselves for ever excluded, *those* who have the forming of the *youth* have reason to promise themselves the like ascendancy over the *man*."

This business being settled, the party at Leicester-house went on as they thought proper. *Stone*, *Murray*, and Lord *Bute*, were in perfect union; not indeed ostensibly, but confidentially. And in a very little time (that is, before the war broke out) Lord *Bath* paid his court to Lord *Bute*, and was admitted of his cabinet. From this time may be dated that unhappy and dangerous idea which Lord *Bute* had imbibed, of

the memorialists cannot help remarking, that the three or four low, dark, suspected persons, are the only men whose station is fixed and permanent; but that all the great offices and officers are so constantly varied and shuffled about, to the disgrace of this country, that the best affected persons apprehend that there is a settled design in these low and suspected people to infuse such jealousies, caprices, and fickleness into the two ministers, whose confidence they engross, as may render this government ridiculous and contemptible, and facilitate the revolution, which the memorialists think they have but too much reason to fear is meditating.

GOD PRESERVE THE KING.

forming a *double* cabinet. He had it from Lord *Bath*, who told him, the *official* men ought never to be trusted with information of any measure until it was given them to execute. They were the *servants*, he said, of the executive power, not the power itself. This extraordinary doctrine will appear more fully if the letters at *Fonthill* are printed; for Mr. Alderman *Beckford* was one of those who at this time paid their *devoirs* at Leicester-house.

After *Stone* and *Murray* had been acquitted by the privy council, very little attention was paid to Leicester-house or its concerns by the *Pelhams* or their Whig friends. In a very few years the ideas of a separate interest, and of a separate party, were become perfectly visible at Leicester-house.

CHAP. XII.

Subsidiary Treaties with Hanover, Hesse, and Russia.—Payment to Russia refused.—Duke of Newcastle sends Mr. Yorke to Mr. Pitt.—Mr. Fox offers to join Mr. Pitt.—Debate on the Subsidiary Treaties.—Mr. Pitt dismissed.—His Balances found in the Bank.—The Duke's Ministry appointed.—Further Debate on the Treaties.—France menaces an Invasion of Great Britain.—Hessian and Hanoverian Troops requested, and arrive in England.—Mr. Pitt disapproves of it.—The design of the French Cabinet.—France takes Minorca.—Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox explain the Causes of that Capture.—True cause of Admiral Byng's execution.—Convention with Prussia.

ON the 15th of September 1755, the King returned from Hanover, with a subsidiary treaty he had concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse, for twelve thousand men, for the defence of Hanover or Great Britain.—Another treaty with Russia, which he had negotiated abroad for 40,000 men, for the defence of Hanover in case that Electorate should be invaded, was finished, and signed at Kensington on the 30th of the same month.

In the month of October, a draft from Petersburg was presented to the British exchequer for 100,000*l.* in consequence of the Russian treaty. Mr. *Legge* consulted Mr. *Pitt*. They united in refusing payment until the treaty had been approved by Parliament.

While the King was at Hanover, the Duke of *Newcastle* received information of the negotiations carrying on there; and being sensible of the disapprobation with which the treaties with Hesse and Russia would be received in England, he endeavoured by negotiations at home to strengthen his ministerial power. Of all his opponents he reckoned Mr. *Pitt* the most formidable; to him therefore he first applied. He sent the hon. *Charles Yorke* to him, to *sound him*, as he called it. When Mr. *Yorke* had opened his business, and began to make a tender of the Duke's sincere friendship for Mr. *Pitt*, his Grace's unlimited confidence in——, Mr. *Pitt* stopped him short, and said, "That as to friendship and confidence, there were none between them; if ever there had been any, they were now entirely destroyed: That he (Mr. *Pitt*) laboured under the King's displeasure, which the Duke of *Newcastle* ought to have removed; the Duke perfectly knew, he said, that the Royal displeasure arose from misrepresentation, and until that

proscription was taken off he would enter into no conversation whatever, either with his Grace or with any person from him."

Mr. *Fox* having been informed of this difference between the Duke of *Newcastle* and Mr. *Pitt*, made a proposal to join Mr. *Pitt* against the Duke of *Newcastle*. Mr. *Pitt* rejected the proposal. It is easy to see Mr. *Pitt*'s motive for this. Mr. *Fox* was the favourite of the Duke of *Cumberland*; and his Royal Highness had differed with the Duke of *Newcastle* concerning the preparations for war, in which his Highness thought the minister negligent and backward; and he moreover had in contemplation the appointment of a new ministry. If Mr. *Pitt* had accepted Mr. *Fox*'s proposal, he must have taken a subordinate situation, which he could never think of, under Mr. *Fox*.

The Prince's party at Leicester-house was increasing, and Mr. *Pitt* was generally supposed to belong to them; but it was not true: He was their friend, but not their coadjutor.

Parties were in this state when Parliament met, on the 13th of November 1755. The treaties with Russia and Hesse were mentioned in the King's speech; and an insinuation of an en-

gement to approve of them was introduced in the address of each House.

Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Legge* condemned them in the strongest terms.

Mr. *Pitt* said, 'They were advised, framed, and executed, not with a view to the defence of Great Britain in case she should be invaded by France; not with a view to protect the allies of Great Britain, if they should be attacked by France, but purely and entirely for the preservation of Hanover against the attempts of France and her confederates, which I believe to be so entirely the only object of the treaties, that I am convinced they would not have been made, had not that Electorate belonged to the sovereign of this island.

'They must be considered as parts of a wild comprehensive system, to gather and combine the powers of the European continent into a defensive alliance, of magnitude sufficient to withstand the utmost efforts of France and her adherents against the Electorate; and all this to be effected at the single expence and charge of Great Britain.

'I conceive this whole system and scheme of politics to be absolutely impracticable.

‘This unsizable project, impracticable and desperate as it is, with respect to all human probability of success, will, if fully pursued, bring bankruptcy upon Great Britain.

‘The three last wars with France cost Britain above one hundred and twenty-millions of money, according to the best of my information; which sum amounts to the rate of more than forty millions each war. If I were provided with materials to be more exact, I should not think it worth while to consult them for the sake of accuracy, the immensity of the sum being such, by any calculation, that the mistake of a few millions can produce no sensible abatement in the argument; for whether forty or thirty millions be the medium of our former expence in the three wars with France, the present system of politics, if carried roundly into execution, presents us with an effusion of treasure still more enormous; because, in the first place, the maintenance of our just and necessary war in North America, an object which had no place in the times of King William and Queen Anne, and did not run very high in the late war, will prove a very inflammatory article in our account; and in the next place the expence of paying and feeding those military multitudes which fought the former wars, was divided between the English, the Dutch, and other nations in alliance: All which

expence is, by the system of these treaties, prepared for Britain alone. And when we consider that such immense issues of money, outmeasuring any experiment of past time, are to be supplied by new loans, heaped upon a debt of eighty millions, who will answer for the consequence, or insure us from the fate of the decayed states of antiquity?

‘ We are pressed into the service of an Electorate. We have suffered ourselves to be deceived by names and sounds, the balance of power, the liberty of Europe, a common cause, and many more such expressions, without any other meaning than to exhaust our wealth, consume the profits of our trade, and load our posterity with intolerable burdens. None but a nation that had lost all signs of virility would submit to be so treated*.

* Mr. *Pitt* spoke a second time in this debate. It is not at present known that any notes have been preserved of this second speech; but it is certain that the argument of it was similar to the following protest:

HOUSE OF LORDS, *November 13, 1755.*

It was moved to leave out these words in the motion for an address:

“ Or against any other of his dominions, although not belonging to the crown of Great Britain, in case they shall be attacked on account of the part taken by his Majesty, for the support of the essential interests of Great Britain.”

The address however was agreed to. But the next day the Duke's negotiations for a new

After debate,

The question was put, "Whether those words should stand part of the question?"

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient,

1st, Because the words of the address objected to, pledging the honour of the nation to his Majesty in defence of his electoral dominions, at this critical conjuncture, and under our present encumbered and perilous circumstances, tend not only to mislead his Majesty into a fallacious and delusive hope that they can be defended at the expence of this country, but seem to be the natural and obvious means of drawing on attacks upon those electoral dominions, thereby kindling a ruinous war upon the continent of Europe, in which it is next to impossible that we can prove successful, and under which Great Britain and the Electorate itself may be involved in one common destruction.

2dly, Because it is, in effect, defeating the intention of that part of the Act of Settlement (the second great charter of England), whereby it is enacted, 'That in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, the nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of Parliament. For if at this juncture, under all the circumstances of our present quarrel with France, to which no other Prince in Europe is a party, and in which we do not call for, nor wish to receive, the least assistance from the Electorate of Hanover, it shall be deemed necessary in justice and gratitude for this nation to make the declaration objected to, there never can be a

ministry being finished, and his arrangements ready, Sir *Thomas Robinson* resigned, upon a pension for three lives, and the wardrobe. Mr. *Fox* was on the same day appointed secretary of state in his room.

On the 20th of November 1755, Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Legge* were dismissed from their offices, as were also Messrs. *George* and *James Grenville*.

It is proper to remark, not only because the circumstance is peculiar, and exhibiting a prominent feature in Mr. *Pitt's* character, but as it is an example worthy the imitation of all honest statesmen, that when Mr. *Pitt* was turned out, the balances belonging to his office were all lodged in the Bank. Those who encouraged the

situation, or point of time, the same reasons may not be pleaded, and subsist in full force; nor can Great Britain ever engage in a war with France, in the defence of her most essential interest, her commerce and her colonies, in which she will not be deprived of the most invaluable advantages of situation, bestowed upon her by God and nature as an island.

3dly, Because, without any such previous engagement, his Majesty might safely rely upon the known attachment of this House to his sacred person, and upon the generosity of this country, famous and renowned in all times for her humanity and magnanimity, that we should set no other bounds to an object so desirable, but those of absolute necessity and self-preservation, the first and great law of nature.

TEMPLE.

many attempts which were made to throw a shade upon his moral character, were the discoverers of this fact, to their utter confusion and mortification.

Sir *George Lyttelton*, afterwards Lord *Lyttelton*, was made chancellor of the exchequer; Lord *Barrington*, secretary at war; Lord *Darlington* and Lord *Dupplin*, joint paymasters; Mr. *Doddington*, afterwards Lord *Melcombe*, treasurer of the navy; and many other alterations took place, which the reader will find in the general list of administrations at the end of the work.

The new administration was called the *Duke's ministry*; because his Royal Highness had recommended the principal persons who composed it. Notwithstanding the respectability of the recommendation, yet there never was an administration more unpopular and odious.

The first measure was to vote the 100,000*l.* for Russia, which Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Legge* had refused to pay; also 54,000*l.* to the Landgrave of Hesse.

Mr. *Pitt* opposed these votes. He contended, 'That a naval war we could and ought to support; but a continental war, upon this system, we could not.' He admitted that regard ought

to be had to Hanover, but it should be secondarily. ‘If Hanover was made our *first* object, and we proceeded upon this system, it would lead us to bankruptcy. It was impossible to defend Hanover by subsidies. An open country could not be defended against a neighbour who could march 150,000 men into it, and support them by as many more. If Hanover should be attacked on account of her connection with Great Britain, we ought not to make peace until we had procured her full and ample satisfaction for every injury and damage she may have sustained. But the idea of defending Hanover by subsidies he ridiculed as preposterous, absurd, and impracticable. This system, he said, would in a few years cost us more money than the fee-simple of the Electorate was worth; for it was a place of such inconsiderable note, that its name was not to be found in the map. He ardently wished to break those fetters, which chained us, like Prometheus, to that barren rock.’

In the months of January and February 1756, France began to march large bodies of her troops towards the sea coast, particularly into Picardy, and to Dunkirk, and threatened to invade England. The preparations overwhelmed the British timid cabinet with alarm and despair. The ministry thought it was “wisest and best” to defend

Great Britain with an army. Accordingly, in the month of March the King sent a message to Parliament, acquainting them that he had made a requisition for a body of Hessian troops, pursuant to the treaty lately made with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, to be brought forthwith hither. Both Houses thanked the King for his message.

The unanimity with which these addresses of thanks had been carried, encouraged Mr. *For* to move another address to the King, which was beseeching his Majesty, "That, for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberty of his subjects against the threatened attack by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this kingdom."

There was some debate upon this motion, but people in general were afraid to oppose it, because they foresaw it would be immediately said they were Jacobites, and meant to favour a design of bringing in the Pretender again; and Mr. *For* threw out this idea, when he made the motion.

Mr. *Pitt*, however, declared his disapprobation of the measure; the natural force of the nation, he said, was sufficient to repel any attack of the enemy. That state alone is a sovereign state, *qui suis stat viribus, non alieno pendet arbitrio*, which subsists by its own strength, not by the courtesy of its neighbours.

Accordingly, next month both Hessians and Hanoverians arrived in England, and were encamped in different parts of the kingdom.

The people hearing their danger from authority, and seeing these foreigners brought over to defend them, were panic-struck, and gave themselves up to despair.

The menace held out by France, of an invasion upon England, was no other than a feint to conceal her real design; which was an attack upon Minorca or Gibraltar. The French cabinet had formed this design with a view to induce Spain to join in the war; but they did not communicate their design to the court of Madrid, until it was too late. For the King of Great Britain, in his memorials to the Spanish ministry, presented by the British minister at Madrid, complained of the conduct of the French in America, and of their hostile designs in Europe; of which

the King takes notice in his speech at the opening of the session, and says, 'That the King of Spain had assured him he would observe a strict neutrality.'

In the month of December 1755, it was deliberated in the French cabinet whether they should attack Gibraltar or Minorca. The former was determined upon, and that when it was conquered it should be given to Spain, if Spain would join France in the war against Great Britain. The proposal was made to the Spanish cabinet, who rejected it; on account of the pacific assurance (abovementioned) which they had so recently given to Great Britain. When the French ministry received the negative of Spain, they changed their plan. But they might have taken Gibraltar at that time, for it was almost defenceless. It is not probable that it would have held out so long as Fort St. Philip did. However, some months before the French landed upon Minorca, the British ministry received repeated information of the preparations making at Toulon for equipping a fleet, and embarking an army with all the implements necessary for a siege, and the most positive assurances that Minorca was the object of attack; but they were so thoroughly frightened by the French menaces of an invasion of Great Britain, that they gave

neither credit nor attention to the information concerning Minorca, although it came in streams from all parts of Italy, the south of France, and other places. In March they believed the intelligence, and not before. The fate of Minorca, and all the circumstances attending it, are very well known. Lord *Anson* was the person most in fault upon that occasion.

Mr. *Pitt*, upon his legs, in the House of Commons, charged the loss of Minorca upon Lord *Anson* and the Duke of *Newcastle*, and added, with respect to Lord *Anson* particularly, that he was not fit to command a cock-boat on the river Thames. [But in his speech on the 22d of January 1770, which see in the second volume of this work, he said the loss of Minorca was owing to the want of four battalions.]

Mr. *For* said the loss of Minorca was owing to the Dutch refusing the six thousand men he demanded, according to the treaty of 1674; for, had they been granted, he could have relieved Minorca. There may be something in this; but the Dutch were justifiable in their refusal; for if they had complied, the French would have treated them as principals in the war. The great error was in the admiralty not sending a larger fleet, and not sending it sooner. Mr.

Byng's only fault was acting with too much prudence, owing to the smallness of his force. He was sacrificed through the management of Lord *Hardwicke*, to screen Lord *Anson*; and so determined were this party upon the measure, that when the court-martial upon Admiral *Byng* was ordered, in the month of February 1757, they contrived to have a certain Admiral at Portsmouth, upon whom they could rely, for *President* of the court-martial; had not Lord *Temple* who was first lord of the Admiralty, prevented it, by placing Admiral *Smith* there, a senior officer. It is an unfavourable feature in the character of *George the Second*, that he yielded to this manœuvre against the unfortunate Admiral; and he was highly offended with Lord *Temple* for defeating it. Mr. *Pitt* said afterwards in the House of Commons, that more honour would have accrued to the King and nation from a pardon to the unhappy admiral, than from his execution.

In order the more effectually to provide for the security of Hanover, early in the month of January 1756, a convention was made with the King of Prussia, the main object of which was, *to keep all foreign troops out of Germany*; and Parliament voted 20,000*l.* to make good this treaty. Thus the treaty with Russia was virtually renounced.

CHAPTER XIII.

Further Account of Leicester-House.—The two Princesses of Brunswick in England.—Observations.—Ministers resolve to resign.—Duke of Devonshire offers a Carte-blanche to Mr. Pitt.—Ministers resign.—New Ministers appointed.—Prince's Household.

THE nation was highly incensed by the losses of Minorca, of the fort of Oswego in America, and some other defeats and miscarriages. The appearance of the Hessians and Hanoverians in England served but to increase the public indignation. A spirit of resentment, and of detestation of the ministers, pervaded every part of the kingdom.

Besides the frowning aspect of public affairs, there was another of a private, but not less alarming nature to the ministry. This was the party at Leicester-house. The Prince's levees were crowded. Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple, and the Grenvilles, and many others, were frequently seen there. This gave the Lord Chancellor

(*Hardwicke*) and the Duke of *Newcastle* much concern. *Their wish now was to get possession of the Prince.* Accordingly, they advised the King to send a message to his Royal Highness, offering him a suite of apartments at St. James's and Kensington palaces. Had this step been taken in the year 1752, it might have been productive of the happiest *emancipation*. It might have prevented those errors of education, which the nation had afterwards so much cause to lament. There would have been wisdom in the measure at that time; and it must have succeeded. But in 1756 it was too late. The effects of Lord *Bute's* intimacy, confidence, and influence at Leicester-house were now become fixed: The blossom was off, and the fruit was set. Upon the receipt of this message Leicester-house was thrown into the deepest consternation. The two Princesses of *Brunswick*, whom the King had last year invited to Hanover, were now in England.

We are yet too near the time to relate with safety all the circumstance of this extraordinary affair.

There is such a delicacy prevails in England, greater than in some arbitrary monarchies, concerning the conduct of the Royal Family, that

truth of them is usually suppressed until it is forgotten. The justice of history is thereby perverted; and the constitution, in this important point, is literally and efficiently destroyed. The King of England is no more than the first magistrate. It is an office held in trust. And although the maxim is, that he can do no wrong, which is founded upon the presumption that every privy counsellor, according to the Act of Settlement, signs the advice he gives; yet this law is not always observed, and if it were, all important matters are transacted in the King's name, and he assents to them. In whose name then are they to be scrutinized, examined, and canvassed? The adviser is seldom known.—The nation has unquestionably as deep an interest in the conduct of the Royal Family, as in the conduct of the ministry. Will any body now say, that the German measures in the reign of *George the Second* were not the *favourite* measures of that King, or that they did not *originate* with him? If the free spirit of the constitution was fairly recognized, it must appear that the conduct of the Royal Family is, in every part of it, a proper subject for public disquisition. The people are interested in it; the welfare of the country is concerned in it. Even the *female* branches are called the *children of the nation*; and when they marry their portions are taken

out of the public purse. But lawyers say, the people can only know and speak by their representatives. If this legal opinion is well-founded, the liberty of the press, which Englishmen sometimes esteem, but often betray, is a mere shadow, an *ignis-fatuus*. Certain it is, that *time-serving* judges and *timid* juries have made a deeper incision in the liberties of England, than all the arms of all the *Stuarts*. Some years ago it was a notion in Westminster-hall, that no person out of Parliament had a right to make observations upon the speech delivered by the King to his Parliament. But after a little reflection and examination this *law-notion* was exploded: It was insupportable; it tended to establish a privileged vehicle of imposition upon the whole nation; than which nothing could be more unjust, nor more foreign to the great principle of the British constitution. The people have a right to examine the conduct of every man in a public situation: it will hardly be contended that they have no interest in that of the Royal Family. Therefore, in those cases, where the party is not only in the highest state of elevation, but possesses the greatest extent of Power, does not the exercise of this right become most essentially their concern? To this delicacy, or something worse, is to be ascribed the general falsification of all *modern* history. If the reader will give

himself the trouble to compare the anecdotes in this work with the histories of the times, he will see a manifest difference; and yet the writer declares that he has not inserted a single word which, in his judgement, is not founded in the purest veracity.

We will return to the fact before us. All that can with produce, or impunity, be added at present is, the Prince did not accept the offer*. Upon which something else was talked of. But Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Pitt* “*stood in the gap, and SAVED LEICESTER-HOUSE†.*”

The ministers having failed in their design to divide Leicester-house, and being frightened at the storm of public indignation, which was ready to burst upon their heads, determined to resign. The Duke of *Newcastle* applied to Mr. *Pitt*. His Grace assured him, the King was perfectly

* A Princess of the House of Saxe Gotha was in the contemplation of her in whom a desire of such *affinity* was not only probable but interesting; but the proposal was instantly reprobated by a higher person, who, after expressing himself in terms of asperity, said, “*He knew enough of that family already.*”

† These are the concluding words of one of Lord T——’s letters, in which the particulars of this affair are stated, and which may, in a future day, be published, to shew the *gratitude* of certain people.

agreeable to take him into his service. Mr. *Pitt* answered him somewhat abruptly, that he would accept of no situation under his Grace. This was on the 20th of October 1756. The King then desired the Duke of *Devonshire* to go to Mr. *Pitt*, who was at Hayes in Kent, and offer him a *carte-blanche*, except as to Mr. *Fox* only, whom the King wished to keep in his service. Mr. *Pitt* gave a positive refusal as to Mr. *Fox*.

When Mr. *Fox* heard this, he immediately resigned: His resignation threw the ministry into confusion, and distressed the King extremely. The Duke of *Newcastle* and the rest of his Majesty's servants resigned also.

At the earnest request of the King, the Duke of *Devonshire* took the Duke of *Newcastle's* place at the Treasury, and again waited on Mr. *Pitt* at Hayes, with a message from his Majesty, requesting to know the terms upon which he would come into office. Mr. *Pitt* gave his arrangement. Himself to be secretary of state; Lord *Temple* first lord of the admiralty; Mr. *Legge* chancellor of the exchequer; the great seal to be in commission; *G. Grenville* treasurer of the navy; *J. Grenville* a lord of the treasury, &c. &c.—The whole were accepted.

While this change of ministers was in agitation, the King gave orders for the return of the Hanoverians to Germany. It was the King's resolution to assemble an army for the defence of Hanover early in the spring, and to give the command of it to the Duke of *Cumberland*. It was with this view the treaty with Hesse had been made, and that the Duke of *Cumberland* had formed the last ministry, as consisting of those persons in whom his Royal Highness thought he could best confide; and that was the reason the King wished to keep Mr. *For* in place, because he knew the Duke had a great partiality for him. But the tide of public odium having set so strong against Mr. *For* and his coadjutors, the court were obliged to surrender, and to admit Mr. *Pitt* upon his own terms. The King, however, continued in his resolution to pursue the plan he had formed for the protection of his German dominions.

On the 28th of November 1756, the Prince of *Wales's* household being established, he held his first levee at Savile-house*.

* The principal persons of his Royal Highness's household were :

Earl of Bute, groom of the stole.

Earl of Huntingdon, master of the horse.

CHAP. XIV.

Mr. Pitt's first Administration.—Raises two thousand Highlanders.—Goree taken.—Refuses to support the Duke of Cumberland.—Commanded to resign.—Presented with the Freedom of several Cities and Corporations.—The King's distresses.—Mr. Pitt made Minister upon his own terms.—The Correspondence of the Admiralty given to Mr. Pitt.

ON the second of December 1756, Parliament met. The first measure of government, after sending away the foreign troops, was the establishment of a national militia.

On the first of January 1757, orders were given for raising two thousand men in the High-

Earl of Sussex, Lord Down, and Lord Robert Bertie, with the Earls of Pembroke and Euston, and Lord Digby, lords of the Bedchamber.

Messrs. Schutz and Peachy, with hon. S. Marsham, hon. G. Monson, C. Ingram, and E. Nugent, grooms of the bedchamber.

Lord Bathurst, treasurer.

Hon. James Brudenell, privy purse.

S. Fanshaw, comptroller.

lands of Scotland for the British service in America. This measure reflected the greatest honour upon Mr. *Pitt*'s wisdom and penetration; and whether he adopted it from the paper, which the reader will find in the note, or whether it originated with himself, it equally shewed the superiority of his mind to all vulgar and local prejudices*. He sent a squadron to the

* The following plan for carrying on the war was submitted to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, in May 1756, and was by his Royal Highness's command delivered to Mr. *Pitt*, by the Earl of *Albemarle* in December 1756:—

“ France constantly keeping numerous armies in pay, is always prepared for war. Wars of a short duration, for the most part, have proved advantageous to that kingdom; but wars of a long continuance very detrimental and ruinous to the people. If the present war is well conducted, before the next year ends that nation will be filled with complaints of losses, and his Majesty's subjects joyful for the successes against their enemies.

“ The land forces in Great Britain and Ireland may be put on a better establishment, by raising more infantry. Two thousand horse of all denominations are sufficient for the service of Great Britain, and one thousand dragoons for Ireland. The troopers and dragoons reduced will form several companies of grenadiers.

“ The British regiments of foot would appear nobly if they contained twelve companies in each, two of them grenadiers.

“ Improvement in agriculture, fisheries, multiplying and enlarging manufactures, the increase of buildings, &c. give so

East Indies, under admiral *Stevens*, and another to the West Indies, under admiral *Coles*.

much employment, that workmen are wanted in most parts of England.

“ Therefore, it is expedient to procure out of Germany some regiments for the service of America, and reward them with lands at the conclusion of the war.

Two regiments, a thousand men in a corps, may be raised in the north of Scotland for the said service, and on the same terms. No men on this island are better qualified for the American war than the Scots Highlanders.

“ Certainly the Scots regiments in the Dutch service ought immediately to be recalled. Better it will be for them to serve their own country than to perish in sickly garrisons.

“ In the north of Ireland two thousand brave Protestants, or more if necessary, might be raised with celerity and facility, upon the promise of having lands assigned to them when the war is finished.

“ It ought not to be supposed that the French really intend to invade Great Britain or Ireland; the difficulties and dangers which must attend the enterprise, are more than enough to deter them: Nevertheless the report of an invasion made such an impression on the minds of some men in power, or they would have it so believed, that this idle rumour, or feint, occasioned the loss of Minorca, and the neglect of sending so many ships as were necessary in the West Indies.

“ The naval forces of Great Britain being more than twice as strong as the French, and this kingdom so well provided with

He sent a small fleet to the coast of Africa, which took the island of Goree from the French, conveniences for constructing ships of war, that three may be built here as soon as one in France; the British cruisers and squadrons may always exceed the French by a third in all parts, which must distress their commerce to a high degree, ruin their fisheries, and starve the inhabitants in the French sugar colonies. The war continuing three or four years, France must inevitably be greatly distressed; her merchants bankrupted, and her manufactures brought to ruin; others obliged to seek their food in foreign countries; whereas in England the manufactures, more especially the woollen, sell at higher rates when at war with France, than in times of peace.

“ When the French perceive this nation takes proper means for maintaining a war, and *that their secret friends are deprived of directing and administering the affairs of this government**, they will use every artifice and device that fraud and cunning can suggest, *to make an insidious peace*; but it is earnestly recommended, that the war may endure until the enemy is entirely subdued in America, and so totally disabled as not to become troublesome to this kingdom in future times.”

Note, by the author of the preceding :

* When his Royal Highness formed the administration, of which Mr. Fox had the lead, the French perceived this influence of their *secret friends* somewhat abridged; and although they still had a share of power, yet they were obliged to act very cautiously. Upon the administration being put into the hands of Mr. Pitt, these *secret friends* were *wholly excluded* from the cabinet. While he guided, Great Britain was *in her own hands*. When in the next reign peace was resolved upon, those *secret friends* came forward again to conduct the negotiation. Then Mr. Pitt was forced out of administration. He then felt the secret influence of the closet. Our allies were deserted, and peace was made with the enemies of the nation, who were the friends of *these secret friends*.

and with it a valuable branch of commerce was obtained. This was the first successful measure of the war.—The nation having been accustomed to disaster and disappointment, this conquest operated greatly to the advantage of Mr. *Pitt's* character. (See Appendix A.) His resolution was to employ the whole of the British fleet.

The debates in Parliament were few and inconsiderable this session. Although Mr. *Pitt* delivered a message from the King, requesting a sum of money for the support of the army that was forming in Germany, he did not support the motion.

The late cabinet saw that the King was very far from being reconciled to Mr. *Pitt*. They employed every secret whisperer to widen the breach, and filled every private channel to the royal ear with insinuations against him. An inquiry was instituted into the causes of the loss of Minorca, which, if possible, increased their disapprobation. But the circumstance which offended his Majesty most was, Mr. *Pitt's* refusal to support the army in Germany; in which refusal he was joined by Mr. *Legge*. The Duke was preparing to set out for Germany, and the Royal request, at first, was to have an immediate supply of money, without waiting for the approba-

tion of Parliament. The King and Duke finding the new ministers hostile to their plan of German measures, determined to remove them. The Duke declared he would not go to Germany unless Mr. *Pitt* was removed. On the 5th of April 1757, the King commanded Mr. *Pitt* to resign; and on the 9th the Duke set out for Germany. Lord *Temple* was also turned out, and Lord *Winchelsea* put at the head of the admiralty; Mr. *Legge* was turned out, and Lord *Mansfield* was appointed to succeed him; no successor was appointed to Mr. *Pitt*; Lord *Holderness*, the other secretary of state, executed the duties of both offices.

This change of the ministry operated like a convulsion on the nation. The people were exasperated beyond measure at the dismissions of Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Legge*, whom they now joined together, and denominated the political saviours of their country. These dismissions were universally ascribed to the secret influence which it was believed the late ministers still possessed in the King's closet.

It was judged unconstitutional to address the throne upon these changes; therefore another method was adopted to convince the King of the sentiments of the nation. This was, to send

addresses of thanks to the dismissed patriots, expressing the highest approbation of their conduct, with presents of the freedom of most of the principal corporations, in gold and other boxes of great value and curious workmanship. [See Appendix B.]

This intestine commotion alarmed the court exceedingly. They saw the danger of permitting the ferment to increase. The Duke of *Newcastle*, though at this time not in office, was the first person who went to the King, and advised his Majesty to recall Mr. *Pitt*. The monarch wept; he complained of all his servants. He thought none of them had acted with fidelity towards him since the time of Sir *R. Walpole*. At length he consented to give the Duke of *Newcastle* full power to negotiate with Mr. *Pitt* and all his friends. The Duke of *Newcastle* saw Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* privately; for although the stream of popularity ran in favour of Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Legge*, yet in all measures of consequence Mr. *Pitt* solely confided in Lord *Temple*. The Duke informed Mr. *Pitt* that he was commissioned by the King to agree to Mr. *Pitt*'s terms, and he hoped and trusted that such condescension in his Majesty would meet with the most favourable interpretation. Mr. *Pitt*'s reply was full of respect and humility to the

King. The Duke then said, that it was his Majesty's wish to form an healing administration, and he left it entirely to Mr. *Pitt*, to settle every arrangement in his own manner.

Mr. *Pitt*'s first proposition was the exclusion of Lord *Anson* from the cabinet. The Duke of *Newcastle* pleaded earnestly to have Lord *Hardwicke* in the cabinet. He said it was the King's request. Mr. *Pitt* consented, on condition that Sir *Robert Henley* had the great seal: This stipulation had been desired by Leicester-house. Lord *Temple* to be privy seal; himself secretary of state, as before. The Duke of *Newcastle* offered Lord *Temple* the treasury. Mr. *Pitt* interfered, and said, "That could not be; his Grace must go there himself*. But if at any

* There were two reasons for this: The first was, the House of Commons had been chosen by Mr. *Pelham*; at whose death his *pocket list* (as it is called) was given to the Duke of *Newcastle*; and this circumstance made another stipulation in the arrangement, which was, that the Duke should transfer his majority to Mr. *Pitt*. Mr. *Pitt* himself described this fact on a subsequent occasion, in these words: "I borrowed the Duke of *Newcastle*'s majority to carry on the public business."—It is similar to transferring Stock, or any other funded property.

The other was—Lord *Temple* would have had his brother, Mr. *George Grenville*, for his chancellor of the exchequer; and in that case, what could have been done with Mr. *Legge*?—The public would not at that time have approved of any other person in that situation. Mr. *Pitt* also knew that there had been a

time hereafter he should think proper to retire, Lord *Temple* should succeed him." Having gone on some time, in making arrangements, the Duke said, What shall we do with Mr. *Fox*? Mr. *Pitt* replied, "He may have the pay-office."—This was a triumph to Mr. *Pitt*—to put Mr. *Fox* below him, and into the office he had left. Lord *Anson* was proposed for the admiralty. Mr. *Pitt* declared that Lord *Anson* should never have the correspondence. The Duke replied, that would be such an alteration in the usual business of the board, as could not be settled without his Majesty's consent. Here the conference broke off. Mr. *Pitt* had an audience of the King. He laid before his Majesty the difference between the Duke of *Newcastle* and himself concerning the admiralty. The King consented that the correspondence with the naval officers, usually in the board of admiralty, should be given to Mr. *Pitt* [see Appendix C], and that the board should only sign the dispatches, without being privy to their contents *. It was at this audience

private understanding between the Duke of *Newcastle* and Mr. *Legge* for some time past.

* The rule, or custom, is, the secretary of state sends all the orders respecting the navy, which have been agreed to in the cabinet, to the admiralty, and the secretary to the board writes those orders again, in the form of instructions, from the admiralty

that the following remarkable words were spoken, which Lord *Nugent* repeated in the House of Commons, in the year 1784: Mr. *Pitt* said—“Sire, give me your confidence, and I will deserve it.” The King replied, without hesitation, “Deserve my confidence and you shall have it.” Lord *Nugent* added, “That Mr. *Pitt* at last won so upon the King, that he was able to turn his very partialities in favour of Germany to the benefit of his country.” Lord *Anson* took the admiralty under Mr. *Pitt*’s limitation; and Mr. *Fox* took the pay-office. Mr. *Legge* had the exchequer. All the arrangements being settled, the parties all kissed hands in July 1757; and the nation was thereby restored to tranquillity and satisfaction.

to the admiral or captain of the fleet, expedition, &c. for whom they are designed; which instructions *must* be signed by *three* of the board. But during Mr. *Pitt*’s administration, he wrote the instructions himself, and sent them to their Lordships to be signed; always ordering his secretary to put a sheet of white paper over the writing. Thus they were kept in perfect ignorance of what they signed; and the secretary and clerks of the board were all in the same state of exclusion.

CHAPTER XV.

Failure of the Duke of Cumberland.—Expedition against Rochefort.—Distressess of the King of Prussia.—Hanover plundered.—Mr. Pitt's two Propositions, one to send a Fleet into the Baltic, the other to cede Gibraltar to Spain.—Anecdote of the Treaty of Peace made in 1783.—Effects of Mr. Pitt's first Administration.—Miscarriage of the Expedition against Louisbourg.—Union of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, for the neutrality of the Baltic.—Taking of the Dutch Ships.—Mr. Pitt opposes the Proposition of sending the British Fleet to the assistance of the Duke of Cumberland.

THE Duke of *Cumberland* failed on the continent. His Royal Highness attributed his failure to the want of British troops and money. His army was not only inferior to the enemy in number, but consisted entirely of Germans. The French pursued him almost to the sea-coast. The King of Denmark commiserated his situation, and under that monarch's mediation a convention was signed, in the month of September 1757, between the Duke, and Marshal *Richelieu*,

the French general, by which the allied army were to retire to their respective countries.

The King of Prussia was driven out of Bohemia this summer, and an account arrived of the suffocation at Calcutta.

Under all these discouraging circumstances Mr. *Pitt* had to commence his new administration. His first measure was an attempt to make a descent upon the coast of France. His view in this was, to oblige the French to recall their troops from Hanover to protect their own kingdom. A fleet and an army were assembled. The destination was kept a profound secret. Sir *Edward Hawke* was commander of the fleet, and Mr. *Pitt* corresponded with him. It is not a little remarkable, that when Mr. *Pitt* ordered the fleet to be equipped, and appointed the period for its being at the place of rendezvous, Lord *Anson* said it was impossible to comply with the order; the ships could not be got ready in the time limited; and he wanted to know where they were going, in order to victual them accordingly. Mr. *Pitt* replied, that if the ships were not ready at the time required, he would lay the matter before the King, and impeach his Lordship in the House of Commons. This spirited menace produced the men of war and transports all ready,

in perfect compliance with the order. They sailed on the 8th of September 1757, from Spithead. The force was considerable; and, had it succeeded, must have made a deep impression. After lying some time before Rochefort, the fleet returned. The cause of the miscarriage was not precisely ascertained. Mr. *Pitt* ascribed it to the inactivity of Sir *John Mordaunt*, who had the command of the troops. The friends of that officer ascribed it to the plan, which in derision, they called *one of Mr. Pitt's visions*.

The distresses of the King of Prussia daily increased. The Russians quickened their march against him. His territories were invaded on every side: and the French were plundering Hanover. In this situation of affairs, the minister framed two propositions; the first was, to send a fleet to into the Baltic, as early in the spring of 1758 as the season would permit, to overawe the Swedes and Russians, particularly the latter, and to support the King of Prussia. The most formidable powers against the King of Prussia were Austria and Russia. Against Austria he was able to defend himself; but Russia being a naval as well as military power, he could not oppose her with equal facility. Her vessels carried provisions, military stores, and reinforcements to her armies in Pomerania and Prussia;

and thereby supported their operations with the most essential assistance. An alliance between the two Imperial courts of Vienna and Petersburg is dangerous to the liberties of Europe. The King of Prussia is a barrier between them; but if either of them should be able to annex the Prussian power to her own, the independence of the other states would be in a critical situation. Upon this ground the proposition of sending a British Fleet into the Baltic was made to the court of Copenhagen, who at first seemed to approve of it.

The other proposition was to the court of Madrid. The sovereignty of the Mediterranean being lost to Great Britain with the island of Minorca, our ships having no port in that sea wherein they could lie or refit, it was become almost impossible to keep any fleet there, and absolutely impracticable, in time of war with the House of Bourbon, to carry on any considerable trade to the Levant. For these reasons Gibraltar was become of less importance to this country than formerly; while the expence to maintain and defend it, in case of war, must be increased; therefore the proposition was *to cede Gibraltar to Spain*, if the court of Madrid would undertake to detach France from the war against Prussia and Hanover. The fact is important, and may sur-

prise those who never heard it. But it is to be found in a dispatch to Sir *Ben. Beene*, who at that time was the British ambassador at Madrid; and to Gibraltar was added the British settlements on Honduras and the Musquito shore. Mr. *Pitt* was not partial to Gibraltar. He would have ceded it to Spain in 1761, if he could thereby have dissolved the Bourbon family compact. In the negotiations for peace, in 1783, the Spanish minister at London for some time insisted on the cession of Gibraltar; but having no equivalent to give, the Earl of *Shelburne* (since Marquis of *Lansdown*) firmly refused it, and the whole negotiation for peace was on the point of breaking off entirely, when the Spanish minister received instructions from his court to give up the point. Every reader will make his own comments on these facts. The objects intended to have been gained by the proposed cession, were, in their day, of the first importance. [See Appendix S.]

The effects of Mr. *Pitt*'s short, or first, administration soon began to appear; and to confirm and increase that confidence, which the nation had reposed in his wisdom and integrity. Admiral *Cotes*, whom he had dispatched to the West Indies, had recovered the honour of the British flag; and the East India Company felt themselves perfectly easy in the reinforcements sent

under the command of admiral *Stevens*, who at the same time had been dispatched to the East Indies. Nor were the effects of his being removed from administration less conspicuous; for he had also, during the short time he was in office, ordered, and to a considerable degree prepared, a third fleet, which he designed for North America, the command of which he proposed for admiral *Hawke*; which fleet was intended to co-operate with the army assembled at New York under Lord *Loudon*, in an attack on Louisbourg. But his successors had not his activity; they changed the command of the fleet to admiral *Holbourne*; nor did the fleet sail from England until some months after the proper time; and instead of joining the army at New York, Lord *Loudon* was waiting at Halifax when admiral *Holbourne* appeared on the American coast. The consequence of this delay was, the expedition was rendered abortive. The French at Louisbourg were prepared to receive them; upon which the army returned to New York, and the fleet was dispersed in a storm. Had this expedition proceeded upon the plan it was originally formed, according to the time prescribed, and under the officers first named, there is the strongest reason to believe the war in North America would have been of short duration; at most, it could have lasted but one campaign more; be-

cause the French could not have reinforced Quebec, and Canada would therefore have fallen a much easier conquest than it afterwards proved. And to this consideration may be added, that great part of that force, which was afterwards employed against Canada, would, in such a case, have been employed *elsewhere*. It is impossible to state the extent of the misfortunes which this abortive expedition brought after it, or the extent of the advantages which might have flowed from it, had the plan been carried into execution by the person who formed it.

Before the conclusion of 1757, the unsound and unwise politics of 1755 and 1756 appeared in a new and unexpected manner. The convention with Prussia, made in 1756, *for the keeping all foreign troops out of the Empire* [see Appendix E.], destroyed the treaty with Russia, made in 1755, for the defence of Hanover, because the *Russians* are *foreign troops*. After this example the court of Copenhagen acted. The Danish minister communicated the British proposition of sending a fleet into the Baltic, to the courts of Stockholm and Petersburgh. The last court resented it highly, because her alliance with the court of Vienna was then concluded. And though she did not wish to commence a war with England, yet sooner than break her faith with

the Empress Queen, she would have done it. She therefore suggested an *expedient*, which was an imitation of the conduct of the British court, who had first made a subsidiary treaty with her for troops, and afterwards rendered it ineffectual by a convention with Prussia, *to keep all foreign troops out of the Empire*. She proposed to Sweden and Denmark a maritime treaty of alliance — *to keep all foreign ships out of the Baltic*.—Sweden being under the influence of French counsels, entered into it immediately, and Denmark not chusing to incur the enmity of two such powerful neighbours, and being perhaps more under the influence of Russia than Great Britain, became a party to the treaty likewise.

Thus the British fleet was excluded the Baltic, whatever the Prussian treaties may pretend (which may be seen in the *Appendix E.*). The minister could not send a fleet into that sea unless he made war upon those three powers: And unless he sent a very powerful fleet, no effectual service could be expected; and if he did, the force against France must have been so essentially weakened by it, as to give the French a considerable superiority in the Channel, and in the Atlantic. One fact only need be mentioned, that as soon as the season permitted the ports in the Baltic to be open, a fleet of twenty Russian

and ten Swedish ships of the line appeared in the Baltic, to preserve the neutrality of that sea.

The French minister was so sensible of the sources of the Baltic for the supply of his navy, that he bribed the Dutch to become the carriers of his Baltic naval stores. But Mr. *Pitt* ordered the Dutch vessels, whenever laden with naval and military stores, to be constantly taken; which judicious and spirited resolution contributed greatly to the successes of his administration*.

* When Mr. *Pitt* found the Dutch heartily inclined to assist the French with naval stores, he resolved to make them as heartily tired of doing it; for, without any ceremony, he gave orders that all Dutch ships with cargoes on board for the use of France, should be considered as the ships of enemies, not of neutrals. His orders were not without effect, and in consequence of the captures that ensued, the loudest clamours were raised in Holland against the English. The general cry there was for war. A Memorial was presented to the States General in 1758, in the names of 269 of the principal Dutch merchants, who subscribed it; they complained that trade and navigation, the very sinews of the Republic, were in danger; that the Dutch flag was disregarded by the English; who had already taken 240 of their ships. They called upon the States General for the protection of their property. Nay, they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm, at their own charge, for the support and protection of their navigation. The Memorial concluded with this remarkable paragraph:

“The petitioners flatter themselves that the toils and the risks to which their effects are exposed on the seas will have their pro-

Mr. *Pitt* laboured under many disadvantages at the time of his restoration to the office of secretary of state; his former plans had either been defeated or rendered useless; and he was obliged to make great sacrifices, to correct the errors of others, before he could carry his future

per influence on the general body of the State; since the traders of this country, finding themselves left to the discretion of a part of that nation with whom the State is most intimately connected, *will be forced to abandon it, to their great regret, and seek shelter and protection elsewhere*; which will give a mortal blow to the principal members of the State."

The Dutch, no doubt, must have been very severely handled, when they so far trespassed upon their love of money as to offer to disburse and arm at their own charge, for the security of navigation; but what must we think of the provocation given by the British minister, when we find the Dutch merchants ready to abandon their country, and become voluntary exiles in a foreign land?

The neutrality of the Dutch did not procure respect for their ports in America, as appears by a letter from St. Eustatia, published in the Amsterdam Gazette, April 9, 1758; wherein the writer declares, "That the depredations of the English are carried to the utmost height, and that the trade of St. Eustatia is at an end; the harbour being more closely blocked up than that of any enemy—that every vessel is stopped, carried off, and *confiscated*; that jealousy is the motive of the English, conveniency their right, and greediness their law; that the English had gone so far as to confiscate Dutch ships, merely for having entered French harbours, alledging that as they paid the usual charges and customs in those harbours, they thereby became French property," &c.

plans into execution. Nothing but the magnanimity of his spirit prevented the same interference, which had chilled the execution of his former measures, from extending its blighting influence over his future designs. When the fleet returned from Rochefort, a puerile scheme was proposed by those whose impolitic measures had given birth to the Baltic alliance against us, to send the fleet to the assistance of the Duke of *Cumberland*, who was flying before the French in Hanover. Mr. *Pitt* alone resisted the proposal; upon which the Duke of *Newcastle* and Lord *Hardwicke*, who had pressed it, gave it up. Mr. *Pitt* had not a thorough confidence in his coadjutors, and therefore he did not always assign his reasons for his opinion. On this occasion he only said, that the assistance of a naval armament in the north had been frustrated; and therefore the scene, as well as the instrument of war, must be changed, before any hopes of success could be entertained; but if a contrary opinion prevailed, he would lay the seals at his Majesty's feet, and retire from his situation.—The cabinet ministers from this time resigned their judgment; in which they were influenced by two motives; one was, a dread of his superior abilities, which threw their minor talents into shade; the other was, an expectation that, by permitting him to indulge in the exercise of his

own opinions, he would precipitate his own exclusion from power, by drawing upon himself some capital disgrace; which they were confident would at the same time restore to them the administration of government*.

The Duke of *Cumberland* returned to England, and finding that his conduct had met with the disapprobation of the King, who disavowed the convention of Closter-Seven, he instantly resigned all his military employments, and retired to Windsor.

* At this period, and for several months past, there had issued from the press a torrent of papers and pamphlets against Mr. *Pitt*, condemning his plans, his measures, his principles, his politics, and even reviling his person, in which the King himself was not spared, for having taken him into his service, and for not dismissing him—all which were permitted to die unnoticed; he felt not the least smart from any of them. One day when Mr. *Grenville* mentioned some of them to him, he smiled, and only said, *The press is like the air, a charter'd libertine**.

* Shakespeare—Henry V.

CHAP. XVI.

The Battle of Rosbach, and its consequences.—Sudden prorogation of Parliament.—Union of the King and Mr Pitt.—The King of Prussia's recommendation.—Hanoverians resume their arms under Duke Ferdinand.—Observations on the German War.

ALTHOUGH the operations of the war are foreign to this work; yet those events from which important circumstances have arisen, and which have either been misrepresented by other writers, or been entirely omitted, it is necessary to mention. Of this nature was the King of Prussia's great victory at Rosbach over the French and Germans, on the 5th of November 1757. No event during the war was attended with such interesting consequences. This victory may be said to have changed the scene, the plan, and the principle of the war. Besides the emancipation which it immediately gave to the King of Prussia, its effects were no less instantaneous and powerful on the councils of Great Britain. The

British minister possessed un understanding to distinguish, and a genius to seize, a fortunate circumstance, and to improve it to the utmost advantage. Parliament had been appointed to meet on the 15th of November.—Intelligence of this victory arrived at St. James's on the 9th in the morning. The moment the dispatches were read, the minister resolved to prorogue the Parliament for a fortnight, notwithstanding every preparation had been made for opening the session on the fifteenth. The reason of this sudden prorogation was, to give time to concert a new plan of operations, and to write another speech for the King. Undoubtedly the speech that had been designed would not apply to this great and unexpected change of affairs.—Whether there was any precedent for this extraordinary step, was not in the contemplation of the minister. In taking a resolution that involved concerns of the greatest magnitude, he was not to be influenced by precedents.—Forty thousand Hanoverians, who had laid down their arms, but not surrendered them, composed such an engine of power and strength, as might, if employed *against* France, not *for* Hanover; or to speak in more direct terms, if ordered to act *offensively* instead of *defensively*, might *divide her power*, and thereby facilitate the conquest of her possessions in America, Africa, and Asia.

George the Second, though not possessed of brilliant talents, yet, to a strong firmness of mind, he added a long experience of men and public affairs, with a sufficient share of penetration to distinguish, even in his present short acquaintance with Mr. *Pitt*, and particularly by his instant resolution of proroguing the Parliament, that he was a bold and intelligent minister; qualities which were perfectly agreeable to the King, because the want of personal courage was not amongst his defects. The King himself first suggested to his minister the resumption of his Hanoverian troops. It was the very measure which Mr. *Pitt* had resolved to propose, when he advised the prorogation of Parliament; and it was only by accident or chance that the proposition came first from the King. The King and his minister therefore, were in perfect unison upon the first mention of this important subject. From this moment the King gave his confidence to Mr. *Pitt*, and the latter, upon discovering the whole of the King's views, saw he could make them secondary and subservient to the interests of Great Britain. During the remainder of the reign, they acted together under the influence of the same congeniality of sentiment, and thereby naturally fell into a perfect union and cordiality of opinion upon all public measures.

Immediately after the battle of Rosbach, the King of Prussia wrote a letter to the King of England, in which he strongly recommended the resumption of the allied army, and Duke *Ferdinand* of Brunswick to the command of it; and he accompanied this letter with a plan of operations, in which he proposed to act in concert with the Duke. Independent of the policy of the measure, there were not wanting very fair and honourable means to support it. The French troops had repeatedly broken several articles of the convention, and had, in general, from the time they entered the Electorate, conducted themselves in a manner more like a banditti of barbarians, than an army of disciplined soldiers.

Mr. *Pitt* adopted the whole of the King of Prussia's recommendation; but so pourtrayed the prominent features of the German measures, as to make them co-operate with his own plans of attacking France in every other quarter at the same time. The King of Prussia highly approved of Mr. *Pitt*'s alterations of his plan. Mr. *Pitt*'s plan was bold and comprehensive; but it should be remembered, that timidity in war is as criminal as treachery, and therefore it is proverbially said, that the boldest measures are the safest. The King of Prussia saw it in this sense, and therefore he gave it his warmest approbation.

In concert with the King of Prussia, the plan of operations was formed. Emden was secured, and the coast of France was annoyed at his request*. Duke *Ferdinand* drove the French out of Hanover, and pursued them with such rapidity, that France was presently under the necessity of preparing for the *defence* of her own frontiers. This sudden change of affairs, and the victories gained by the King of Prussia in Silesia, shewed that a war upon the continent of Europe, conducted upon British principles, was highly serviceable to the interests of this country. France, so far from being able to invade Great Britain, could not send troops to strengthen her garrisons and settlements abroad; and in a few months her first object was to provide a fresh army to stop the progress of Duke *Ferdinand*; while Mr. *Pitt*, on the other hand, prepared expeditions against her coast, to co-operate with the Duke. In this situation the councils of France were distracted. Her whole force was kept at home. A German war, conducted upon this principle against France, was the most advantageous war that Great Britain could make;

* The King of Prussia saw, and fully comprehended, the wisdom of the attempt upon Rochefort, and he adopted the idea of annoying the coast of France from that measure. He conceived a very favourable opinion of Mr. *Pitt*'s political talents from that circumstance, although it had not been successful.

and notwithstanding the expence has been urged as the greatest objection to it, yet when it is recollected that this war employed the armies of France, and prevented succours being sent to her settlements abroad, it was the most *æconomical* war that the British minister could carry on. The expence of transporting troops, forage, stores, &c. to a short distance, is infinitely less than to a great one. Whoever will be at the trouble to look over the charges of the American war, which commenced in 1775, and of the German war which commenced under Mr. *Pitt's* direction in 1758, will see the fact indisputably confirmed. It need only be added, that if the armies of France had been to be conquered in Canada, in the West Indies, in Africa, and in Asia, the expence to this country, of transporting and maintaining an adequate force to encounter them in all those places, must have been immense. Upon a subsequent occasion, the minister emphatically said, "That America had been conquered in Germany." Experience hath since shewn that the assertion was well founded.

CHAP. XVII.

Meeting of Parliament.—Mr. Alderman Beckford's Explanation of the new principle of the German War.—Mr. Pitt's Speech on the Rochefort Expedition.—Effects of that Speech.—Mr. Pitt's alacrity in Office.—Sir James Porter's observation.—Successes of 1758.

THE proceedings of Parliament, to which we will now return, were not distinguished by any extraordinary debates during the remainder of Mr. Pitt's administration.

Both Houses met on the first of December 1757, according to the singular prorogation already mentioned. Mr. Pitt delivered a message from the King, acquainting the House that he had put his army in motion in Hanover (see Appendix R.), to act in concert with the King of Prussia, and requesting their support. An adequate sum was immediately voted without a dissenting voice.

Mr. Alderman Beckford said a few words upon this occasion; which, as they tend to explain the

new principle of politics, they will not be improper to insert here. 'If the Hanoverians and Hessians,' he said, 'were to be entirely under the direction of British councils, the larger the sum that was granted in order to render that army effectual, the more likely it would be to answer the end for which it was given; that is, to try the issue of the war with France; than which, in his judgment, there never was so favourable an opportunity as the present. But if the *Regency of Hanover* were to have the disposal of the money, and the disposition of the army, he would not give a shilling towards its subsistence.'

A new treaty was made with Prussia, which was approved by Parliament, and which the reader will find in the Appendix to this work. (See Appendix E.)

Parliament was never known to be so unanimous as at this time.

The fleet and army sent against Rochefort having returned without making the impression intended, Sir *John Mordaunt* was put under an arrest, and being a member of Parliament, the King sent a message to the Commons, acquainting them of the restraint put upon one of their

members. They thanked the King for his attention to their privileges.

‘Mr. *Pitt* reprehended, in terms of great warmth, the indolence, the caution, of those intrusted with the execution of military operations during the last campaign.—He declared solemnly that his belief was, that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power. He affirmed, though his Majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers, for the honour and interest of his British dominions; yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the least appearance of danger, could with confidence be trusted. He particularised the inactivity of Lord *London* in America, from whose force the nation had a right to form great expectations; from whom there had been received no intelligence, except one small scrap of paper, containing a few lines of no moment. He further said, that with a force greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a King and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to the service every-where prevailed. And few persons seem to be affected with any other zeal

than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries. From the general censure he excepted some of the admirals at home; and by name the admirals *Watson* and *Pococke* in the East Indies; one of whom, he said, so far from following the present practice of his brethren in command, by seeking occasions for excuse to keep out of danger, had bravely quitted his own ship, when unable to bring her into action, and hoisted his flag on board a lesser ship, in order to animate, by his presence, the gallant seamen under his command, who thus inspired performed wonders. He also made very honourable mention of General, afterwards Lord *Clive*, who commanded on the same expedition: who though not bred a soldier, yet glowing with a noble ardour for the glory of his country, and inspired by heaven with a genius superior to imaginary danger, had dared to defy opposition, and triumphed over the enemy, the standards of whose hosts outnumbered his whole army.

‘Nor was it, he said, amongst the officers alone that indolence and neglect appeared; those who filled the other departments of military service seemed to be affected with the same indifference; the victuallers, contractors, purveyors, were never to be found but upon occa-

sions of their own personal advantage. In conversation they appeared totally ignorant of their own business. The extent of their knowledge went only to the making of false accounts: in that science they were adepts.'

This detection of the abuses in the several departments, where they had long prevailed, and of the want of exertion in the commanders in chief, which had also been obvious, operated in a manner highly advantageous to the public service. Those gentlemen, as well as the nation, now saw that there was a minister at the head of affairs, who not only knew the duties of his own office, but the duties of others; and therefore they might expect him to examine their conduct: to traverse all parts of it with a keen and penetrating eye. This apprehension roused them from their lethargy. They awakened as from a dream; and seemed to be electrified by the fire of his mind; they glowed with ardour in every subsequent enterprise. The British honour was recovered. The events of the war placed the name of Great Britain upon the highest point of honour.

The minister, in the official duties of his station, was regular, punctual, and indefatigable. His example and his authority awakened in

others a proper sense to a similar attention. Order and dispatch were constantly observed. The British ministers abroad, during Mr. *Pitt's* administration, unanimously acknowledged the wonderful exactness with which all the proper communications were made to them, and the clearness and perspicuity in which all their information and instructions were written. Sir *James Porter*, who passed the principal part of his life in a diplomatic character, often declared to his friends, That during Mr. *Pitt's* administration, there was such a correct knowledge, and such an active spirit to be seen in all the departments of state, and in all the concerns of government, and such a striking alteration in the manner, as well as in the matter, of the official communications, that these circumstances alone would have perfectly convinced him of Mr. *Pitt's* appointment or resignation, if he had received no other notice of the event.

The session closed on the 20th of June 1758.

The British arms this year were successful in every quarter of the globe.

In Asia, owing to the reinforcements Mr. *Pitt* sent last year, the French were defeated at Massulipatam, and in two naval engagements,

In America, Louisbourg was taken, also the isle of St. John, and the forts Du Quesne and Frontiniac.

In Africa, Senegal surrendered.

In Europe, admiral *Osborne* defeated and took the French fleet from Toulon, destined for the relief of Louisbourg; and Sir *Edward Hawke* drove another fleet upon the sand-banks on the coast of France, that was equipped at Rochefort for the same purpose. A descent was made on the coast of France, near St. Malo, where all the ships and vessels were destroyed. Another was made at Cherbourg, where the ships, mole, pier, bason, and other works, were all destroyed, and the cannon brought away. A third descent was made in St. Lunar Bay, which being full of rocks, the fleet were obliged to go to St. Cas, and thus the army and fleet became separated. In the re-embarkation at St. Cas, the rear-guard under general *Drury* were cut off by a large body of French troops. However, these descents kept the whole coast of France in perpetual alarm, and prevented the French ministry from sending any troops to reinforce their army in Germany. Duke *Ferdinand* drove the French army entirely out of Hanover, and across the Rhine. The

King of Prussia entirely subdued Silesia, and entered Bohemia and Moravia.

All the terrors of invasion being now transferred from Great Britain to France, the British troops were all sent to scenes of active and important service; and the defence of the island was entrusted to a constitutional and well-regulated militia; which had been raised, disciplined, and officered by the gentlemen of the country.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Meeting of Parliament.—Successes of 1759.—Lord Bute's first Interference.—He goes to the Duke of Newcastle, and demands Lord Besborough's Seat at the Treasury Board for Sir Gilbert Elliot.—He also demands the Representation of the County of Southampton for Sir Simeon Stuart.

ON the 23d of November 1758, Parliament met. The same unanimity prevailed. All the supplies were voted without the least hesitation; and the session closed on the 2d of June 1759, without any debates.

The most ample preparations were made for another vigorous campaign. The successes of the last campaign had inspired every individual, both in the army and navy, with a passion for glory that was nothing short of enthusiasm. [See Appendix D.]

In America, Quebec [see Appendix L.] and Niagara were taken; and in the West Indies, Guadaloupe, and other islands.

In Europe, another squadron fitted out at Toulon was defeated in the Mediterranean, by admiral *Boscawen*. Havre was bombarded by Sir *George Rodney*, and Brest was blocked up by Sir *Edward Hawke*. Duke *Ferdinand* defeated the French at Minden; and the King of Prussia, though surrounded by his numerous enemies, maintained himself with astonishing skill and valour.

After the French had been defeated at Minden, they saw it was in vain to press forward their whole strength in Germany, and therefore they resolved upon making their next principal effort by sea. For this purpose they equipped all the naval force they had at Brest, and other ports in the Atlantic, and with an army which was kept in readiness to embark, they intended

to make a descent upon Ireland, with a view of diverting the attention of the British cabinet from Germany and the West Indies. Sir *Edward Hawke* lay off Brest to intercept their sailing, and his squadron was reinforced from time to time. At length the French came out, and Sir *Edward Hawke* gained a complete victory over them, on the twentieth of November 1759.—This victory annihilated the naval power of France.

It was in this year of unanimity and victory, that the seeds were sown of those divisions which appeared soon after the accession of *George* the Third. The patronage of places, that never-failing source of discord, was claimed by Lord *Bute*. Upon Lord *Besborough* going to the post office, in the month of May 1759, in the room of Lord *Leicester*, deceased, there was a vacancy at the treasury board, and the Duke of *Newcastle* proposed to fill it with Mr. *James Oswald*, from the board of trade, who was recommended by Lord *Halifax*; but Lord *Bute* interfered.—He told the Duke of *Newcastle*, “He came to him in the name of all those on that side of the administration, (meaning the Leicester-house party) who thought they had as good a right to recommend as any other party whatever; and it was their wish that Mr. (afterwards Sir) *G. Elliot*, of the

Admiralty, might be appointed." The Duke of *Newcastle* finding himself obstructed in his own nomination, and resolving not to comply with that of Lord *Bute*, the dispute was settled by a third person, with the recommendation of Lord *North*; who, the Duke afterwards found, was one of the confidential friends of his secret opponents.

This was the first cause of difference.

The second related to Mr. *Legge*, and happened a few months afterwards, in the same year. There being a vacancy in the representation of the county of Southampton, by the Marquis of *Winchester* becoming Duke of *Bolton*, it was the desire of the Prince of *Wales*, signified by Lord *Bute* to Mr. *Legge*, that though Mr. *Legge* had been invited by a great majority of the gentlemen of the county to represent them, yet that he must not accept of those invitations, but yield all pretensions in this matter to Sir *Simeon Stuart*, who had his (Lord B.'s) recommendation.—Mr. *Legge* lamented that he had not known the Prince's inclinations sooner; that his engagements were made, and he could not break them. Mr. *Legge* was elected. But when the Prince became King, although Mr. *Legge* had been made chancellor of the exchequer, by the voice

of the nation, and his conduct in office distinguished by the strictest integrity, yet *he was turned out.* [See Appendix G.]

On the 13th of November 1759, Parliament met. The Prince of *Wales* took his seat on the first day. There were no debates upon any public measure this session; which ended on the 22d of May 1760.

The war was carried on with unabating vigour, and the same uniformity of success attended the British arms wherever they appeared.

CHAPTER XIX.

Death of George II.—Accession of George III.—Lord Bute made a Privy-Counsellor.—Made Ranger of Richmond Park, in the room of the Princess Amelia.—Views of the New King's Party.—Methods taken to accomplish those views.—A number of Writers hired at an enormous expence to abuse the late King, the Duke of Cumberland, Mr. Pitt, and all the Whigs; to represent the war as ruinous, unjust, and impracticable.—Mr. Cornwall's observation on Lord Mansfield.—Parliament dissolved.—Mr. Legge turned out.—Lord Holderness resigns upon a Pension.—Lord Bute made Secretary of State in his room.—The King's marriage.—General Græme's merits on this occasion.—French Anecdotes.—Observations on royal marriages with Foreigners.—Negotiation with France.—Breaks off.—Martinico taken.—Mr. Pitt prepares for a War with Spain.—His design of taking Havannah.

UNFORTUNATELY for the glory and interest of Great Britain, on the 25th of October 1760, the venerable George the Second died. [See Ap-

pendix F.] The circumstances of his death are too well known to be repeated here. As to the successor, the effects of the wickedness of his advisers have been, and are still, too deeply felt to be described in any terms adequate to the injuries committed. Posterity, in a subsequent age, when truth may be spoken, and the motives of men laid open, will be astonished at the conduct of their ancestors at this period.

Two days after the King's accession the Earl of *Bute* was introduced into the privy council, and at the same time the name of the Duke of *Cumberland*, was struck out of the liturgy. Another circumstance not less remarkable immediately succeeded; this was Lord *Bute* was made ranger of Richmond park, in the room of the Princess *Amelia*, who was turned out.

It was the fixed design of the party which they knew the King brought with him from Leicester-house, to remove the ministers, and conclude the war*; but the tide of popularity ran so strong in favour of both, they were obliged to postpone the execution of their design, until

* The King is made to acknowledge, in November 1763, in his speech to Parliament, "The re-establishment of the public tranquillity was the FIRST great object of my reign."

they had prepared the nation to receive it. For this purpose a great number of writers were employed to calumniate the late King, the Duke of *Cumberland*, *Mr. Pitt*, and all the Whigs.

The late King was reviled for the affection he had shewn to his native country, for his love of female society*, and for his attachment to the Whigs.

The Duke was charged with inhumanity; he was styled "A Prince that delighteth in blood," because the Princess of *Wales*, had some time ago conceived a jealousy of his popularity. Nothing could be more unjust than this suspicion; there was not a person in the kingdom more firmly attached to the rights of her son.

The Whigs were called Republicans, although many of them had exhausted their fortunes in support of the monarchy.

But *Mr. Pitt* was the principal object of their calumny. He was assailed in pamphlets, in

* After the death of *Queen Caroline*, he was fond of a game at cards in an evening with the Countesses of *Pembroke*, *Albemarle*, and other ladies.

newspaper essays, and in every other channel of conveyance to the public. The war upon the continent was called *his* German war; his former opposition to German measures was contrasted with his present conduct; the expences of former wars were compared with the present war. The ruin of the country, the annihilation of all public credit, were predicted and deplored as the inevitable consequences of the present unjust, impolitic, and impracticable war; for, although it was successful, yet they affirmed that every victory and every conquest was a fresh wound to the kingdom. Mr. *Pitt's* thirst for war, they said, was insatiable; his ambition knew no bounds; he was madly ruining the kingdom with conquests.

By the conquest of Canada they affirmed that all had been obtained that justice gave us a right to demand; every subsequent conquest they affirmed was not only superfluous, but unjust; that it was now perfect suicide to go on conquering what must be surrendered: They wept over our victories. The nation, they said, was destroying itself. At the same time they held out flattering and false pictures of the enemy's strength and resources.

Smollett, Mallett, Francis, Home, Murphy,

Mauduit, and many others, were the instruments employed upon this occasion. It has been said that the sum paid to these and other hired writers, during the first three years of the reign of *George the Third*, exceeded a hundred thousand pounds. And the printing charges amounted to more than twice that sum. In facilitating the views of the party the money was well laid out, for the nation was completely duped. And as to the few who might attempt to undeceive the public, there was a *political judge* * ready to punish their temerity.

* Lord *Mansfield*, of whom Mr. *Cornewall* (late Speaker) said in the House of Commons, on serjeant *Glynn's* motion concerning libels [see Chap. XL. and Appendix T.], “That a man clothed in the robe of magistracy ought never to be a politician: If such an one ever should, he would carry his politics and his prejudices into the court where he presided, to the imminent and almost certain danger of every man whom the minister of the day, wished to have destroyed.” This suspicion of Mr. *Cornewall's* is far from being new. We meet with something similar to it in *Algernon Sydney's* Discourses on Government. The following extract is taken from the quarto edition, page 214:

“To this end the tribunals are filled with court parasites, of profligate consciences, fortunes, and reputation, that no man may escape who is brought before them. If crimes are wanting, the diligence of well-chosen officers and prosecutors, with the favour of the judges, supply all defects; the law is made a snare, virtue suppressed, vice fomented, and in a short time honesty and knavery, sobriety and lewdness, virtue and vice, become badges of the several factions, and every man's conversation and manners

A person at this time (thirty years subsequent) may very rationally ask if there were any Englishmen weak enough to give credit to these base assertions. The question indeed is natural; and if the answer corresponds with truth, it must be confessed, that such was the industry used in writing and circulating these doctrines, that the new King's faction, in a short time, had their defenders in every town and village in the kingdom.

The war indeed went on, and though the conquests and victories were not less brilliant than heretofore, the expence was continually urged as a matter of more importance than the advantage.

shewing to what party he is addicted, the Prince who makes himself head of the worst, must favour them to overthrow the best, which is so straight a way to an universal ruin, that no state can prevent it unless that course be interrupted. And whoever would know whether any particular Prince desires to increase or destroy the bodies and goods of his subjects, must examine whether his *government* be such as renders him grateful or odious to them; and whether he do pursue the public interest, or for the advancement of his own authority set up one in himself, contrary to that of his people; which can never befall a *popular government*; and consequently no mischief equal to it can be produced by any such, unless something can be imagined worse than corruption and destruction."

The unanimity of Parliament was not yet disturbed. As the ensuing session was the last session of the present Parliament, the King's party thought it most prudent to postpone any attacks in either House until the new Parliament was elected. The session commenced on the 18th of November, 1760, and closed on the 19th of March 1761.

The Parliament was immediately dissolved.

And on the same day Mr. *Legge* was dismissed.

Upon the dismissal of Mr. *Legge* the whole ministry ought immediately to have resigned. A measure of such union and spirit must have had the happiest effects. The new King's favourite would have been checked in his design of seizing upon the kingdom; and the K—— himself would have been convinced, that the Tory principles, inculcated at Leicester-house, though amusing in theory, were mischievous in practice.

Two days after the dismissal of Mr. *Legge*, Lord *Holderness* resigned, upon condition of having a large pension secured to him, and the reversion of the cinque ports. Lord *Bute*, in whose favour this resignation was purchased, was

instantly appointed secretary of state in his room; and he made Mr. *Charles Jenkinson* (now Earl of *Liverpool*) his *confidential commis.*

It was now obvious to every understanding, that there was an end to that unanimity which had for some years so happily and so honourably prevailed in council, and in Parliament. The resolution of the new King's faction, to change the ministry, was now perceptible to every man, who had not lost his penetration, in that torrent of popularity, which was artfully managed to absorb all considerations, in the most extravagant eulogies on the sound wisdom of the King, and the immaculate virtues of his mother. [See Appendix Q.]

The faction further contrived to amuse the people with *two* other circumstances this year. One was the King's marriage, the other his coronation, which gave them an opportunity to proceed in their measures unobserved by the nation.

The merit of *finding out* the lady was claimed by general *Græme**. But the writer of *Le Mont-*

* There was a controversy upon this subject in the public papers, which merits more notice than controversies upon the concerns of individuals usually deserve. We shall select only two short papers, as they contain some facts which are curious.

agnard Parvenu ascribes it to Lord *Bute*, for he says, page 17, “Heaven through the interme-

It should be previously observed that, in the first arrangement of the Queen's establishment, general *Græme* was made secretary to the Queen: and in 1765 he was also made comptroller; but in February 1770 he was dismissed from her Majesty's service.

On the fourth day of October 1777, the following paragraph appeared in the public prints:—

“It were to be wished that, in introducing general G——e to the public notice, a little more pains had been taken to explain the ease and independence that gentleman was called from, as well as his appointment as negotiator and ambassador. The world has hitherto had the misfortune of beholding this officer only in the light of a simple individual: bred in a foreign service: employed once as a *private* agent, to find out where a negotiation might be set on foot, and rewarded liberally for the discovery. It remains also to know the independent patrimony he was originally seised of, and how he may have spent it in her Majesty's service. These and other circumstances being cleared up, will have the effect of rescuing from oblivion an illustrious character, whose merit has apparently not been enough considered.”

[*This paragraph, at the beginning, seems to allude to some prior publication; but notwithstanding a diligent search, nothing can be found, except a short paragraph, stating, that general Græme had resigned his employment.*]

To the Printer, &c.

“I TAKE the earliest opportunity to comply with the wish of the paragraph writer in your paper of to-day, respecting general *Græme*. At the time he was first sent to Mecklenburgh, he was possessed of a family estate of six hundred pounds a year, and twenty thousand pounds in money. Your correspondent,

diate agency of the new secretary of state (Lord B.), pointed out Princess *Charlotte* of Strelitz Mecklenburgh."

though he takes up the ludicrous style, as master of his subject, is certainly very ill-informed. General *Græme* was sent three several times to Germany; once as a private agent, and twice as a public one; first, *to find out a Princess*, then to bring her over, and lastly to carry the garter to the Prince her brother. The expences of these journies were considerable; he gave in no bill of them—the others employed did. His liberal rewards were a regiment, which cost him seven thousand pounds in raising; the office of secretary to the Queen, for which he drew only one *half* of the salary, *being rode for the other half*, and some time after he was made comptroller to the Queen's household. He retired from her Majesty's service with not one shilling of ready money, and his estate so much encumbered, that he has little more than his regiment to support him. Vice or extravagance he has never been accused of. Let common sense put all this together, and I defy the most obsequious courtier to say that he has been indemnified, far less rewarded. He went when a boy into the Scotch brigade, in the service of the States of Holland, &c. then reckoned famous for military discipline; and I believe had finished his first campaign, before Major *Sturgeon* (whom, from the phrase 'seised of,' I take to be the author of the paragraph) had finished or broken his apprenticeship to the attorney.

Oct. 4, 1777.

G. A. B."

To the Printer, &c.

October 12, 1777.

"TO rescue merit from obscurity is highly laudable. This praise will deservedly belong to the letter-writer who celebrates the virtues and disappointments of general G——e, when he has thrown the necessary light upon some few points. He grants

The same writer, in pages 17, 18, and 19, gives us the following paragraphs :

that this gentleman was bred in the Dutch service, and that he was at first a *private* agent, “to find out a Princess :” (It were to be wished he had chose another phrase, for this will hardly be received as a compliment by the family it is applied to.) But then the second commission was *public*, “to bring her over.” Here either the letter-writer or the public is in a great error. For the universal belief has been, that the late Lord *Harcourt* was the minister commissioned to bring her over*. Again the paying of seven thousand for a regiment is a new sort of traffic, even in this commercial country, and merits a full illustration; yet even admitting of its full extent, as this happened so many years ago, the general must, upon a moderate computation, be a very considerable gainer upon that bargain: besides the very unusual favour of being adopted from a foreign service, over the heads of a multitude of brave and deserving officers in our own. Another point to be cleared up is, his having spent in the public service so large a patrimony as his estate of six hundred pounds a year, and twenty thousand pounds in money, besides the emoluments of a regiment, a *half secretaryship*, and a *whole comptrollership*. The hungry courtiers surely did not ride him in all of these, estate and money and all: for Germany (though it is a great gulph) could not have swallowed any thing like this in three journies. The bills, had they been given in (which it is really pity they were not) could scarcely, we should think, have amounted to one tenth part of the general’s patrimony alone.

Your’s, &c. D.”

* (It is well known that Lord *Harcourt* was the person who went to Mecklenburgh in a *public character*; but that circumstance does not invalidate the fact of general *Græme* being the *confidential man*; for, according to the principle of government laid down for the new reign, there were always an *ostensible man* and a *confidential man* in every situation; and this anecdote

“The late King had, towards the close of his reign, recommended the Princess of *Brunswick*, for the transcendency of her person and mind; but a proposal for a princess of *Saxe Gotha*, reported to be in every sense the reverse of the other, counterworked the then Royal intention, and so puzzled matters that a marriage with neither took place. . . .

“His (Lord *Bute's*) conduct arose not from any views similar to those which had actuated a Duke of Bourbon, in procuring a Queen for the French monarch (*Louis XV.*)

“On the decease of the Duke of *Orleans* Regent, the Duke of *Bourbon* insinuated himself so adroitly with the young, implicit, and inexperienced King, as to establish himself prime minister. . . .

“He so contrived matters as to have the Infanta, a Spanish Princess, and of the Bourbon family, sent back [see Appendix S.]; a gross affront to his then Catholic Majesty.—The main spring of the Duke's policy was, to chuse a Princess to be raised to the throne of France, who should appear to him the poorest and the most

shews the very early period at which the *theory* of the system of *duplicity*, which had been taught at Leicester-house, was put in practice at St. James's.)

friendless in Europe; that being raised from her former indigent state, she should be the more fastly bound in obligation to him."

Any person acquainted with the history of England must know, that greater misfortunes to the nation have arisen from the marriage of English sovereigns with foreigners than from their marriage with natives. The marriages of *Edward II. Richard II. Henry VI. Charles I. &c.* are incontestable proofs of the truth of this observation.

The exclusion of the natives from their Sovereign's bed, is founded in a traditional error, or bare prejudice; and that, most probably, a very silly one. It is no more than this, That the marriage of the Prince into a private family may excite envy in other families.

Such a circumstance may, or it may not happen; but supposing that it should happen, have we not seen that favourites of no family nor merit, only by administering to the passions and weaknesses of sovereigns, have disposed as absolutely of titles, places, preferments, pensions, reversions, &c. as any wife or relation could do? If this abuse is unavoidable, might not this question be fairly asked, Is not the exercise of such

power safer in the hands of a native of distinction, than in those of any agent or agents of any foreigner whatever.

The nobility and gentry of these realms may be said to be in a conspiracy against themselves, while they neglect to explode that vulgar error which sends our Princes in quest of foreigners for wives, in whom their private happiness is as little consulted as the public welfare: and in which alliances we sometimes import not the best, but the worst blood on the continent.

There was likewise a *third* circumstance this year, which originated in the anxiety for peace, manifested by the Chief of the faction, who had obtained the King's ear, and to whom he had given his confidence. The French ministry were not unacquainted with the secret influence of Lord *Bute*, from the first moment of the King's accession: but they reckoned too precipitately and too largely on his power; which they measured by their knowledge of his inclination. Under this impression of opinion, the French minister, the Duke de *Choiseul*, proposed to Mr. *Pitt* a negotiation for peace, upon plausible pretences. All the papers concerning this negotiation, the reader will find in the Appendix, marked H. Mr. *Bussy*, the French minis-

ter, arrived in London in May 1761, and Mr. *Stanley*, the British minister, arrived at Paris in the same month. This negotiation continued until August, at which time the court of France had prevailed on the King of Spain to join them in the war. Mr. *Pitt* had suspected for some time that this junction was in contemplation; and upon the delivery of a Memorial by M. *Bussy*, on the interests of Spain (when there was a Spanish minister at our court), he was confirmed in his suspicions. He saw that a war with Spain was inevitable: and he immediately made preparations for it. He had ordered an attack to be made on the French island of Martinico, and the other islands belonging to that power in the West Indies. And it was now his resolution to hasten those measures, and to send the fleet and army, as soon as those islands were reduced, against the Havannah, the key of the Spanish West Indies; and also to reinforce the army with the troops from North America, where the services were completed.

Martinico, St. Lucia, Grenada, and St. Vincent, were taken by his order. The French power in the East Indies was totally destroyed; and Belleisle, on the coast of France, was taken.

There was a very unaccountable negligence

in equipping the expedition against the Havannah, under the subsequent administration, who could not avoid attempting this conquest, because the plan of it was left to them by Mr. *Pitt*. After taking the last of the French islands in the West Indies the victorious troops remained idle a considerable time. Had they been sent immediately against the Havannah, as Mr. *Pitt* intended, the Spaniards would have been attacked before they were prepared, and the place would have been taken before the unhealthy season commenced. The misfortune was, that though the ministry sent only four ships from England, to join the armament Mr. *Pitt* had assembled in the West Indies; yet these ships did not sail from England until the month of March 1762; at which time, according to Mr. *Pitt*'s plan, they would have been before the Havannah; for Martinico surrendered on the 12th of February. Our great loss of men at the Havannah was more owing to the unhealthy season, than to the resistance of the enemy*.

* There was a suspicion, and it seems to have been founded on neither ordinary nor weak probability, that the ministry would have rejoiced at a defeat before the Havannah. The officers were appointed upon the recommendation of the Duke of *Cumberland*, who was not less obnoxious to the faction, called the King's friends, than Mr. *Pitt* himself. Every thing was delayed, and every thing was sent too late; but the ardour and spirit of the army and navy

CHAP. XX.

State of France.—Mr. Pitt opposed in his design to send some ships to Newfoundland.—That place taken.—Retaken.—Mr. Pitt opposed in his design to attack the Spanish Flota.—Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple opposed in their advice to recall Lord Bristol from Madrid.—Three councils upon it.—Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple resign.—Design against Panama and Manilla.—Assertions of Lord Temple and Lord Bute.—The Gazette account of Mr. Pitt's resignation.—Virulence and rancour of the King's party to Mr. Pitt.—His Letter to the City of London—All the Spanish Treasure arrived in Spain.—Explanatory Note.—Mr. Pitt greatly applauded in the City of London.—War declared against Spain.—Epitome of Mr. Pitt's administration.

FRANCE at this time was reduced to the lowest state of distress and despondency. All her colonies were in the hands of Great Britain. Her arms

thwarted the design. The advices of this important conquest arrived in England when the negotiation for peace was nearly finished; the negotiation was prolonged by it, because the ministers were obliged to increase in their demands! a matter that was quite opposite to their private wishes; which were to obtain peace immediately upon any terms, in order to secure their places.

had been discomfited in every quarter. The payment of her public bills was stopped; and she might literally be called a bankrupt nation. She was reduced to a more distressed and humbled condition by the three years administration of Mr. *Pitt*, than by the ten years war of the Duke of *Marlborough**. Her navy was ruined: She had not at this time ten ships of the line fit for service; yet with these her ministers resolved to make their last effort.

* France had never been so much pressed by England, as she was during Mr. *Pitt*'s administration. An Englishman might, at this period, with some propriety ask, Where were now her 450,000 fighting men, which her ministers boasted of in the reign of *Louis* the Fourteenth? And where her sailors, who in the same reign fought on board one hundred ships of war? It may be answered, that we had thousands of her sailors in prison, and that her number of land forces was diminished one half. So reduced was her navy in November 1759, it is well known she was obliged to force the peasants into that service; and it is well known that, however decreased her armies might be, compared with the flourishing times of *Louis* the Fourteenth, still it was with the greatest difficulty the government could pay and provide for those armies; and had they resolved upon an augmentation of them, their revenues would have failed to support them, and what is more, the augmentation itself was impracticable. The dregs of the people, and the lower artificers, were already swept away by the recruiting serjeant; and the fields were in a manner abandoned.—Whoever travelled through France at that juncture, might see the women not only drive, but hold the plough. And in some provinces it was no uncommon spectacle to behold two women yoked with one cow drawing the plough.

Their design was to obtain a share of the fishery in the North American seas, at a cheaper rate than they could hope to gain it by treaty. From a circumstance that happened during the late negotiation, Mr. *Pitt* foresaw that they would make this attempt. His diligence and penetration were constant and uniform; and they were not less apparent on this than they had been on every former occasion. Immediately on the departure of M. *Bussy*, he proposed to send four ships of the line to Newfoundland: but to his great surprise, he was opposed in this measure. The cabinet put a negative upon this proposition. The consequence was, the French took Newfoundland. As soon as Lord *Amherst*, who was at New York, heard it, he sent his brother and Lord *Colville* to re-take the island, which they accomplished, before the arrival of any orders from England.

Mr. *Pitt* now saw, and felt the strength of the new King's party. He did not, however, resign upon this check; because his grand object was Spain. His design was, by an early and vigorous exertion, to cripple that power. He did not suspect the House of Bourbon to have so many friends in England as he afterwards found. The King of Spain had, at this time, an immense treasure at sea, coming from America. He was sensible the King of Spain

would not declare himself until that treasure had arrived. Mr. *Pitt*'s design was to intercept it, and bring it to England. He was confident of the hostile intentions of Spain. The plan of union, which had been negotiating between the courts of France and Spain all the summer at Paris, was now completed: and Mr. *Pitt* had been furnished with a copy of this treaty of alliance, which included all the branches of the House of Bourbon, and is commonly called the Family Compact. [See Appendix K.] He communicated to the cabinet his resolution of attacking Spain. Lord *Bute* was the first person who opposed it; he called it rash and unadvisable. Lord *Granville* thought it precipitate, and desired time to consider of it. Lord *Temple* supported Mr. *Pitt*, which he had done uniformly from his coming into office. The Duke of *Newcastle* was neuter. The Chancellor was absent. Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Pitt* submitted to his Majesty their advice in writing, signed by themselves, to recall Lord *Bristol* (the British ambassador) from Madrid. This was on the 18th of September 1761.

A few days afterwards a second cabinet was summoned upon the same subject. All the cabinet ministers were present. Mr. *Pitt* asserted that he did not ground his resolution of attack-

ing Spain upon what the court of Spain had said, or might say, but upon what that court had *actually done*. The majority said they were not yet convinced of the necessity or propriety of his measure; and the cabinet broke up without coming to any resolution. In a few days more a third cabinet was summoned upon this subject. Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* insisted upon the necessity of recalling Lord *Bristol*. Every other member of the cabinet now declared against the measure; upon which Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* took their leaves. Lord *Granville* (the Lord President) regretted that they were going to lose Mr. *Pitt* and his noble relation. He spoke highly of Mr. *Pitt's* penetration and integrity, but on this occasion he thought him mistaken, for the best accounts from Spain justified a contrary opinion. His Majesty having rejected the written advice of Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple*, they resigned on the 5th of October 1761*.

* A few weeks previous to Mr. *Pitt's* resignation, the following conversation, as nearly as it can be related from memory, happened between Mr. *Pitt* and a *General Officer* :—

“Sir,” says Mr. *Pitt*, “I find the Spaniards are determined to break with us. It may become a fortunate circumstance, for although we have taken the French islands and colonies, they do not afford us ready money, which we want. You must take possession of Panama; How many regiments shall you want for

But the most abandoned part of this business was in the House of Lords, on the commence-

such an expedition? The ships can be provided for the purpose immediately; I have no doubt of making up 5000 men, if necessary, from the British colonies, who are now secure. We have no reason to apprehend a disappointment; they may not be ready in time, but must be sent you as they are raised, rather as recruits than part of your command."

General Officer.—"Sir, I shall not want a great number of disciplined troops; I know the exact force in that part of America; give me three or four regiments, with instructions to the middle and southern provinces to supply me with a few men accustomed to bush-fighting, and about two thousand negroes to work in the heat of the day. Give me powers to form an alliance and a promise of protection in religion and commerce. I'll answer for the success, not only against Panama, but for a resignation of all Spanish America, in all matters which may be deemed beneficial to Great Britain."

Mr. Pitt.—"Sir, get yourself in readiness; your commission shall be made out immediately."

Nor was this all. He meditated an attack upon the Philippine islands; and he consulted Lord *Anson* upon the subject, on account of his knowledge of those seas. *Mr. Pitt's* design was to have reduced Panama first, and next to have made a detachment from thence against Manilla. The reader has been already informed of his design against the Havannah, which, though it was afterwards executed by his successors, yet had he continued to direct the war, that conquest would have been accomplished much sooner, and consequently great part of the force employed there would have been at leisure, perhaps, to have co-operated at Porto Bello, or some other place, with the expedition against Panama, or have been ready for any other service: His design against the Philippine islands was adopted by his successors, but materially altered, by joining the East India Company in the

ment of the first session of the new Parliament, on the 6th of November 1761, when Lord *Temple* said, in the debate, ‘That their advice (meaning ‘*Mr. Pitt* and himself) was not founded upon *suspicion* only, although they had for *several months* ‘*suspected* the views of Spain, and would have ‘been amply justified from the *just grounds* of ‘their *suspensions*, but upon positive and authentic information of a treaty of alliance being ‘signed between France and Spain.’ Upon which Lord *Bute*, with astonishing and incredible effrontery, got up, and pronounced these words:

‘My Lords,

‘I affirm, *upon my honour*, that there was NO ‘intelligence of such a fact so constituted, at ‘that time.’

This brought Lord *Temple* up again, who affirmed also *upon his honour*, ‘That there WAS ‘intelligence of the highest moment; that he ‘was not at liberty to publish that intelligence ‘in the House, but would refresh his Lordship’s ‘memory in *private*.’—He beckoned Lord *Bute* out of the House, and repeated to him the immeasure. Nor would this expedition have been undertaken, if Lord *Anson* had not, in the strongest terms, repeatedly recommended and pressed it to Lord *Egremont*.

telligence which had been laid before the cabinet. In this conference Lord *Bute* found himself under the necessity of acknowledging that he *recollected* something of it. The dates will shew the fact indisputably. The Family Compact was signed on the 15th of August 1761; it was ratified on the eighth day of September, and the written advice to recall Lord *Bristol* was given and dated on the 18th of the same month.

Mr. *Pitt's* resignation was not published in the London Gazette until *five* days after it had taken place. The ministry waited for some of *their favourable* advices from Spain to contrast with it.

In the London Gazette of October 10, 1761, these articles appeared together:

Madrid, September 4. “A report having been
“lately spread here, upon the arrival of our
“late letters from France, as if there was rea-
“son to apprehend an immediate rupture be-
“tween our court and that of Great Britain,
“*we*” [*who were meant by this pronoun?*] “under-
“stand that the Spanish ministers, in a conver-
“sation which they had lately with the Earl of
“*Bristol*, ambassador extraordinary from his
“Britannic Majesty, expressed their concern

“ thereat, and declared very explicitly to his Ex-
“ cellency, that on the part of their court there
“ was not the least ground for any such appre-
“ hensions, as the Catholic King had, at no time,
“ been more intent upon cultivating a good cor-
“ respondence with England, than in the present
“ conjuncture; and at the same time informed
“ the Earl of *Bristol*, that orders had been sent
“ to Monsieur *Monso*, governor of San Roque,
“ to reprimand such of the inhabitants under
“ his jurisdiction as had encouraged the illegal
“ protection given to the French privateer row-
“ boats, under the cannon of a Spanish fort.”

“ *St. James's, October 9.* The Right Honour-
“ able *William Pitt* having resigned the seals
“ into the King's hands, his Majesty was this
“ day pleased to appoint the Earl of *Egremont*
“ to be one of his Majesty's principal secretaries
“ of state. And in consideration of the great
“ and important services of the said Mr. *Pitt*,
“ his Majesty has been graciously pleased to di-
“ rect, that a warrant be prepared for granting
“ to the Lady *Hester Pitt*, his wife, a barony of
“ Great Britain, by the name, style, and title of
“ Baroness of *Chatham*, to herself, and of Ba-
“ ron of *Chatham* to her heirs male; and also to
“ confer upon the said *William Pitt*, Esq. an an-
“ nuity of three thousand pounds sterling, dur-

“ing his own life, and that of Lady *Hester Pitt*,
“and their son *John Pitt*, Esq.”

“*St. James's*, *October* 9. This day Earl
“*Temple*, keeper of the King's privy seal, re-
“signed the said seal into his Majesty's hands.”

The moment the preceding intelligence was published, Mr. *Pitt*'s character was assailed with the most ardent malignity and savage phrenzy that ever disgraced any age or country, by all the hired writers in the service of the King's party. They branded him with the names of pensioner, apostate, deserter, and with every term of reproach that malice could apply, or depravity suggest. Every newspaper was filled with their invectives. Pamphlets were written and industriously circulated for the same purpose; and every art and every method were practised, in order to effect a change of the public opinion, respecting the glory of his measures, the honour of his character, and the purity of his conduct.

The King's faction were perfectly sensible that the confidence of the nation had been reposed in Mr. *Pitt*, and they deprecated, by this criminal industry, his return to power. They dreaded nothing so much as a disposition in the people,

similar to that shewn in the year 1757, when the public voice obliged the late King to receive him. And it is certain that they succeeded so far as to occasion a temporary diminution of his character in the public esteem. Mr. *Pitt* himself was so thoroughly convinced of this truth, that he thought it necessary to state the cause of his resignation in the following letter to the town-clerk of the city of London:

“*Dear Sir,*

“Finding, to my great surprise, that the cause and manner of my resigning the seals is grossly misrepresented in the city, as well as that the most gracious and spontaneous marks of his Majesty’s approbation of my services, which marks followed my resignation, have been infamously traduced, as a bargain for my forsaking the public, I am under the necessity of declaring the truth of both these facts in a manner which I am sure no gentleman will contradict: A difference of opinion with regard to measures to be taken against Spain; of the highest importance to the honour of the crown, and to the most essential national interests, and this founded on what Spain had already done*, not on what that court

* *What Spain had already done.*] At this distance of time these words may require a little explanation. Besides the Family Com-

may farther intend to do, was the cause of my resigning the seals. Lord *Temple* and I submitted

pact, which was Mr. *Pitt's* principal object, there were the following facts:

A Memorial of Mr. *Pitt's*, in the name of the King of Great Britain, had been returned by the Spanish minister at Madrid as *wholly inadmissible*. This Memorial Mr. *Pitt* wished to have had laid before Parliament; because having made, he said, the conduct of Spain, in this instance, the *precedent* for his refusal of the Spanish Memorial offered by M. *Bussy*, he thought both the *matter* and the *expression* of the British Memorial ought to be made known. Mr. *Pitt's* successors in office, however, put a negative upon his wishes.

And besides the points* in dispute between the two courts, there were the following reprehensible proceedings on the part of Spain:

At St. Lucar, about seven leagues from Cadiz, there were, in 1757, eleven sail of English ships in that harbour, which sailed with Spanish Pilots, and at the mouth of the river, between two necks of land, and in shoal water, they were followed by a French privateer. They were all taken, and brought back into that port. Sir *Benjamin Keene*, our ambassador at that time at Madrid, remonstrated very strongly upon this subject, but to no purpose; they were deemed good prizes, though taken close to the land, in shoal water.

The affair of the *Antigallican* and her prize the *Duc de Penthièvre* is well known.

In the beginning of the year 1759, the *Experiment* (a King's ship,) was chased off the coast of Spain, by the *Telemachus*, a large French privateer, double the force of the *Experiment*; but

* These points were three in number. They are given in the private Memorial of France, dated July 15, 1761, which see in Appendix H.

in writing, and signed by us, our most humble sentiments to his Majesty, which being over-

the British captain not chusing to suffer the disgrace, engaged the Frenchman, and at length took him. The victor then stood for the Spanish coast, when he sent his boat with his master and four men ashore, to land some of the prisoners, and bring off some necessaries. The boat was immediately detained, and the officer and crew thrown into prison, the governor alledging that the French ship was an illegal capture, though she came off from the land where she lay at anchor, and pursued the *Experiment*. And orders were sent to all the Spanish ports to detain the *Experiment* if she put into any of them.

About June 1760, the *Saltash* sloop of war chased on shore a French row-boat, a few leagues to the eastward of Almeria Bay, and some time after she took a French row-boat off Mahon, and put a midshipman and fourteen men on board, and some time in the following month came to anchor in that bay. The Spaniards detained her, and made the men prisoners; upon which the captain of the *Saltash*, finding his prize not come out, sent his boat, with the master and five men, to know the reason; who, on coming ashore, were threatened by the Spanish soldiers to be fired at unless they hauled their boat ashore to a port a quarter of a mile from thence, which they refused to do, insisting, as British subjects, they had a right to Spanish protection; whereupon they seized the boat's crew, as well as the prize, and put them in the common prison, where the master was struck and abused by the soldiers, and all the rest used with great cruelty, and refused the use of pen, ink, and paper. The *Saltash* was never able to get her men, to the number of 19. The Spaniards sent the master of a Catalan bark to prison, for carrying a message from one of the prisoners to Gibraltar.

In 1761 the *Speedwell* cutter, commanded by Lieutenant *Allen*, was chased into the harbour of Vigo, by the *Achilles*, a French

ruled by the united opinion of all the rest of the King's servants, I resigned the seals on Monday

man of war, and there made a prize of by her. Mr. *Allen* was tried at Spithead for losing his Majesty's cutter, and was honourably acquitted; but the court declared their opinion that she was an illegal prize, and taken contrary to the law of nations.

In Cadiz there were many French privateers manned and fitted out by Spaniards, built under the windows of the governor's house where they lay; and in his sight, when any English vessel sailed out of the harbour, would follow instantly, and bring her in; though, on the contrary, if any French ship should sail out, no English ship of war dared to follow her, or sail out of the harbour in less than 24 hours; and the garrison guns were always ready to protect a French ship.

In the harbour of Vigo, in May 1761, there were upwards of thirty French row-boats, in which thirty boats there were not above thirty Frenchmen; one in each boat, and the rest of the crews all Spaniards, and these fitted out by the Spaniards of Vigo.

At Cabaretta, a small town on the Spanish coast, in the Gut of Gibraltar, where there is a castle and some few guns, there was always a fleet of French row-boats at anchor under those guns, with not one Frenchman on board, mostly Spaniards and Genoese, and fitted out by Spaniards, who, in a piratical manner, watched and seized all English vessels which passed without a convoy, or happened to be becalmed. This was very detrimental to the garrison of Gibraltar, as many of those vessels were bound from Ireland, &c. with provisions.

About two months before Mr. Pitt resigned, Mr. R——, an eminent ship-builder in the King of Spain's service, quitted Spain, and returned to England. He knew authentically and exactly the force and condition of every ship and vessel belonging to the King of Spain. Mr. Pitt saw him several times immediately after his arrival, and placed a proper value upon his information.

the 5th of this month, in order not to remain responsible for measures which I was no longer allowed to guide.—Most gracious public marks of his Majesty's approbation of my services followed my resignation. They are unmerited, and *unsolicited*; and I shall ever be proud to have received them from the best of Sovereigns.

“ I will now only add, my dear Sir, that I have explained these matters only for the honour of truth, not in any view to court return of confidence from any man, who with a credulity, as weak as it is injurious, has thought fit hastily to withdraw his good opinion from one who has served his country with fidelity and success; and who justly reveres the upright and candid judgment of it, little solicitous about the censures of the capricious and the ungenerous. Accept my sincerest acknowledgments for all your kind friendship, and believe me ever with truth and esteem,

“ My dear Sir,

Hayes,

“ Your faithful Friend,

Oct. 15, 1761.

“ W. PITT.”

A little time after Mr. *Pitt*'s resignation, the ministry received a dispatch from Lord *Bristol* at Madrid, containing the following interesting information:

“Escurial, Nov. 2, 1761.

*“Two ships have lately arrived at Cadiz, with
“very extraordinary rich cargoes, from the West
“Indies; so that ALL the wealth that was expected
“from Spanish America is now safe in Old Spain*.”*

The triumphs of the courts of London and Madrid over Mr. *Pitt* were now complete:—The first, in having compelled him to relinquish the direction of a war, by which he had nearly crushed one branch of the House of Bourbon, and was ready to pour its thunders upon another: The latter, in having supported the designs of his enemies, until that immense wealth was arrived, which they knew he meant to have intercepted; and which, had he been permitted to accomplish, he must, by a success of such immense importance, at the beginning of the war, have speedily reduced Spain to the necessity of deprecating the rage of so potent and active an enemy.—But to those few persons who were not duped by the artifices of the King's confidential servants, nor deceived by the hired writers of foreign and domestic enemies, these triumphs over a great minister were matters of the most sincere concern, regret, and anguish.

* See other Extracts from the Spanish papers, with some explanatory notes, in the Appendix I.

In a few weeks, however, the public prejudice began to dissipate. When he went into the city on the ensuing Lord Mayor's day, he was honoured in all the streets through which he passed, with unbounded marks of applause. The King and Queen honoured the city feast with their presence (according to custom, on the first Lord Mayor's day after their coronation); and the courtiers said his Majesty betrayed some signs of disapprobation, that the applause given to Mr. *Pitt*, was greater than that shewn to himself.

This approbation was, for a little time, confined to the metropolis; but soon afterwards several cities and great towns presented complimentary addresses to him—thanking him for his important services, and lamenting the cause of his resignation. [See Appendix O.]

Whatever doubts might have remained on the minds of men whose residences were remote from the source of information, respecting the propriety of Mr. *Pitt*'s conduct relative to Spain, they were all dispelled by the declaration of war against that power, which Mr. *Pitt*'s successors found themselves under the necessity of issuing on the second day of January 1762, although they postponed that important measure until the

insults of the Spanish court had become so notorious that even Lord *Bute* confessed they could be no longer concealed.

Thus came by constraint, and without dignity, and what is worse than both, above three months after the opportunity had elapsed, that declaration of war, sneaking, and as it were by stealth, which Mr. *Pitt* would have issued with eclat in the prior month of September.

EPITOME OF
Mr. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION.

MDCCLVII.

THE Hanoverians and Hessians were sent home, and a well-regulated militia established; by which the enemy saw that we were so far from wanting foreign troops to protect us, that we could afford to send the national troops abroad.

The foundations were laid of the subsequent conquests.

Fleets and armies were sent to Asia, Africa, and America.

MDCCLVIII.

Shipping destroyed at St. Malo.

Bason and Shipping destroyed at Cherburg.

Emden recovered from the French.

Senegal taken.

Louisbourg, and the isles of Cape Breton and St. John's, taken.

Fort Frontenac taken.

Fort Du Quesne taken.

Fort and island of Goree taken.

Massulipatam taken.

D'Ache's fleet defeated.

French army defeated at Crevelt.

French fleet under *Du Quesne* taken by admiral *Osborne*.

French fleet drove ashore at Rochefort by Sir *Edward Hawke*.

MDCCLIX.

Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade, &c. taken.

Siege of Madras raised.

Surat taken.

Niagara taken.

Shipping destroyed at Havre.

French fleet under *De la Clue* taken by admiral *Boscawen*.

Ticonderoga taken.

Crown Point taken.

Quebec taken.

Complete defeat of the French fleet in Quiberon Bay.

French army defeated at Minden.

MDCCLX.

Thurot killed, and his three frigates taken.

French army defeated at Warburgh.

Montreal taken, and all Canada.

Frigates, stages, and stores destroyed in Chaleur Bay.

Dumet taken.

Dominique taken.

MDCCLXI.

Pondicherry taken, and all the French power in India destroyed.

Belleisle taken.

French army defeated at Fellinghausen.

MDCCLXII.

Martinico taken, and with it the islands of Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. And

The Havannah taken: though after Mr. *Pitt's* resignation, yet in consequence of his plans.

To these conquests must be added the annihilation of the French marine, commerce, and

credit; the loss to France of the following ships of war, which composed nine tenths of her royal navy:

FRENCH KING'S SHIPS TAKEN OR DESTROYED.

Forty-four of the line, viz.—Four of 84; eleven of 74; two of 70; seventeen of 64; two of 60; two of 56; one of 54; and five of 50.

Sixty-one frigates, viz.—Four of 44; two of 40; eighteen of 36; two of 34; fifteen of 32; one of 30; one of 28; two of 26; eight of 24; two of 22; six of 20.

Twenty-six sloops of war, viz.—One of 18; nine of 16; six of 14; two of 12; one of 10; seven of 8.

Besides the advantages derived from all these conquests and captures, Mr. *Pitt* left the late thirteen British colonies in North America in perfect security and happiness; every inhabitant there glowing with the warmest affection to the parent country. At home all was animation and industry. Riches and glory flowed in from every quarter.

“ Gods! what a golden scene was this,
Of public fame, of private bliss *.”

* Ode by H. Seymour, Esq. late M. P. for Evesham.

CHAPTER XXI.

Situation of Great Britain at the end of Mr. Pitt's Administration.—Conduct, corruption, and management of the House of Commons.—Farther particulars concerning Mr. Pitt's resignation.—And of the Princess of Brunswick.—Union of Lord Bute with Lord Bath and Mr. Fox.—Mr. Grenville wishes to be made Speaker.—Mr. Fox has the management of the House of Commons.—State of the Civil List.—Mr. Pitt desires all the papers relative to Spain to be laid before Parliament.—He supports the motion of a supply for Portugal.—Regards measures more than men.—Lord Tyrawley sent to Lisbon.—Jealousy of the Commercial Interest.

THE situation of Great Britain, at the end of Mr. Pitt's administration, might not be improperly compared to that of Rome at the end of the commonwealth. The Roman empire extended from Britain to Media; and the British dominions included North America, and a great part of the Mogul empire, with many islands and colonies in Europe, America, Africa, and Asia.—

Both empires, at these periods, were in their zenith; and from these periods both empires declined in virtue, and diminished in extent. The principal differences hitherto have been, that the severity of the British senate has exceeded that of the Roman; and the diminution of the British empire has been more rapid.

We have seen the end of this great man's brilliancy as a minister. We are now to view him in the character of a single member of the legislature; dignified indeed by reputation, but accompanied by no influence, nor followed by one individual of that obsequious crowd of representatives, who had lately given him unlimited confidence, and unbounded praise. This sudden, but not surprising change of opinion, in the representatives of the nation, was occasioned by no alteration in his sentiments or principles, no relaxation of his promptitude or vigour, no impeachment of his conduct, his judgment, or his virtue; nor was it to be ascribed to the usual versatility of mankind, particularly the natives of Great Britain, whose ruling passion is *novelty*; but it is to be attributed entirely, and exclusively, to the influence of corruption, to the avarice and vanity of such men as are always eager to pay homage to the distributor of rewards,

whoever he may be, of whatever nation, or of whatever complexion.

The management of the House of Commons is become so perfectly mechanical, that it requires only a small knowledge of the principles of the machine, to be able to transfer the majority at almost any time, from the most able statesman to the favourite of the crown, or the confident of the enemy, who may have no other recommendation than the smiles of the first, or the money of the last; with the same facility that an India bond, or any other negotiable property, is transferred every day.

These observations may seem illiberal to the inexperienced, because they are unfavourable to the admirers of national glory. It is the misfortune of *Truth* to be often disagreeable; the ancients very wisely painted her naked, to signify that those who were her enemies were the enemies of nature; and the dignitaries of the church call her the daughter of God. Notwithstanding this confirmed state of modern depravity, *Truth* will continue to have her worshippers; and it may be presumed that they will, in the present age, as they have in the former ages, survive the advocates of Corruption and Falsehood. It is to

them only that impartial History can address herself—from them only she can expect protection. The betrayer of his country, and the destroyer of public liberty, whether supported by a Commodus, or protected by a Faustina, may endeavour, by the assistance of the slavish instruments of law, to intimidate and to strangle her voice; but conscious that she has *Truth* for her shield, she ventures upon a task that will give a new complexion to the public events of one of the most interesting periods in the annals of Great Britain.

Mr. *Pitt*'s first care after his resignation, was the diminution of his household. Amongst his other retrenchments were his coach-horses, which were sold by public advertisement in his own name. His enemies stigmatized this circumstance with the appellations of parade and ostentation; his friends denominated the whole measure prudence and œconomy. Certain it is, that he had not, like many of his predecessors, amassed a fortune in his late situation. He retired from office an indigent man, with little more than his annuity for his support. From all his places he acquired no possessions. The legacy of ten thousand pounds left him by the Duchess of *Marlborough*, already mentioned in Chap. V.

had amply supplied his pecuniary wants, released him from all dependence on his family and friends, and while it emancipated him from the terrors of obligation, it inspired him with that spirit of independence which may be said to have first kindled that blaze which adorned the remainder of his life. During his stay in office he had no levees; he dedicated his whole time to the duties of his station.

His successor was the Earl of *Egremont*, who was recommended to Lord *Bute* by the Earl of *Bath*. Upon the accession of *George III.* Lord *Bath* made a tender of his services, which although not accepted publicly, his advice was received *privately* by Lord *Bute*.

But Lord *Bute*'s principal adviser, and manager of the House of Commons, was Mr. *Fox*. The circumstance which caused the first advances to an union between them, was the arrival of the two Princesses of *Brunswick*, already mentioned in Chapters XIII. and XIX. That affair had been originally suggested by the Dutchess their mother, sister to the then King of Prussia, whom she had solicited to recommend it to *George the Second*, when at Hanover, in the month of July 1755.

The project had certainly the approbation of Mr. *Pitt* at that time, but he warmly disapproved of the *resolution* to accomplish it against the pressing intreaties of the Princess of *Wales**;

* Lord *Melcombe*, in his Diary, mentions this affair in these words:

“ She [*meaning the Princess of Wales*] told me that the King had sent to invite the two Princesses of *Brunswick*. They came, but their mother, the King of Prussia’s sister, who was not invited, came with them: We talked of the match; surely he would not marry her son without acquainting her with it, so much as by letter. I said certainly not, as he had always behaved very politely to her. It may be so, she replied, but how can this be reconciled? In this manner, said I: Nothing will be settled at Hanover, but when the King comes back he may say, in conversation, and commending the Prince’s figure, that he wishes to see him settled before he dies, and that he has seen such and such Princesses; and though he would settle nothing without her participation, yet he could wish to see the Prince settled before his death, and therefore, if she had no objection, he should think one of those Princesses a very suitable party.

“ She paused, and said, No; he was not that sort of a man: But if he should settle the match without acquainting her with it, she should let him know how ill she took it; and if he did it in the manner I mentioned, she should not fail to tell him fairly and plainly that it was full early She was determined to behave so whenever the King spoke to her about it. She thought the match premature: The Prince ought to mix with the world; the marriage would prevent it; he was shy and backward; the marriage would shut him up for ever, with two or three friends of his, and as many of hers. That he was much averse to it himself, and that she disliked the alliance extremely: That the

who *secretly* wished for an alliance with one of her own family. Mr. *Pitt's* and Lord *Temple's* opposition to the resolution of force was one principal cause of the design being relinquished. Lord *Bute* supported the Princess in all points; and Mr. *Fox* was ready to put his negative on ALL *continental alliances* *; against the Princesses of *Brunswick*, therefore, they were perfectly united. The resignation of the Duke of *Cumberland*, which happened in a little more than a year afterwards, the ascendancy of Mr. *Pitt* in the

young woman was said to be handsome, and had all good qualities and abundance of wit, &c. but if she took after her mother she would never do here.—The Duke of *Brunswick* indeed, her father, is a very worthy man. Pray, Madam, said I, what is her mother, as I know nothing at all about her? Why, said she, her mother is the most intriguing, meddling, and also the most satirical sarcastical person in the world, and will always make mischief wherever she comes. Such a character would not do with *George*: It would not only hurt him in his public, but make him uneasy in his private situation; that he was not a wild, dissipated boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with a serious cast upon the whole; that those about him knew no more than if they had never seen him. That he was not quick; but with those he was acquainted, applicable and intelligent. His education had given her much pain; his book learning she was no judge of, though she supposed it small or useless."—*Edit.* 1784. p. 354, &c.

* Some persons have imagined that Mr. *Fox* did not look unfavourable on a *supposed* attention to a lady of the noble family to which he was allied.

closet, and other circumstances, drew Mr. *Fox* every year into a closer connexion with Lord *Bute*. He doubtless saw, that his future rise in the state must be obtained by his interest in the Prince's court. Upon the accession of *George III.* we accordingly find that Lord *Bute*, who was totally inexperienced in the wide field of politics, takes Mr. *Fox* for his principal adviser, not upon the principles of government, for upon them they often differed; but in the gratifications of resentment, and in the arrangements of men. Lord *Bute*'s other chief adviser was Lord *Bath*, whose enmity was principally directed against the Duke of *Newcastle* and his friends, as Mr. *Fox*'s was against Mr. *Pitt* and his friends. By these advisers Lord *Bute* was instructed to break all great connections, and to annihilate all popular influence. The court adopted these measures with a view to increase the power of the crown, and give to the King an uncontrouled exercise of his prerogative, under the direction of his private favour.

When it was known that Mr. *Legge* was to be turned out Mr. *Grenville* expressed to his brothers his desire to succeed Mr. *Legge*; but Mr. *Pitt* took no notice of his wishes; upon which a coolness commenced between them. This disappointment occasioned Mr. *Grenville* to direct

his attention to another interest. Mr. *Onslow* having resigned the chair of the House of Commons, Mr. *Grenville* solicited to succeed to that vacancy. He was at this time treasurer of the navy, and had been in that post about seven years, and in other places. He waited upon the Duke of *Newcastle*, who being still first lord of the treasury, was nominally minister. The Duke asked him if he had mentioned the matter to Lord *Bute*. Mr. *Grenville* owned he had; and added, that he had not only the King's approbation, with his Majesty's gracious assurance of the cabinet, but the approbation likewise of all his own family. The last part of this assurance was undoubtedly a mistake, for the Duke of *Newcastle* was the first person who informed Lord *Temple* of Mr. *Grenville's* overtures. Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Pitt* were exceedingly offended with their brother for having made an application to Lord *Bute* without first communicating his intentions to either of them.—From this moment Mr. *Grenville* separated himself from all his family; and there subsisted the most bitter animosity between them until the month of May 1765. During that period Mr. *Grenville* attached himself first to Lord *Bute* and afterwards to the Duke of *Bedford*.

On the 6th of November 1761, the new Par-

liament met*. Mr. *Fox* had, at this time, obtained the situation he was so desirous of possessing in the late reign, viz. the management of the House of Commons. No man was better qualified for this important trust. He was liberal in his promises, and honourable in the performance of them. We may judge of his means by the facts respecting the civil list only. When Mr. *Pitt* resigned (October 1761), the King's revenue not only stood clear of all incumbrances, but there was a balance in the exchequer due to the crown, of between one hundred and thirty and one hundred and forty thousand pounds. When Lord *Bute* and Mr. *Fox* resigned †, which was in April 1763, the balance in the exchequer was not only expended, but the outgoings upon the establishment of the civil list exceeded the income, to the amount of upwards of ninety thousand pounds *per annum*.

On the 11th of December 1761, a motion was made in the House of Commons, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to give direc-

* Mr. *Pitt* was re-elected for the city of Bath, upon the invitation of the corporation. See Appendix N.

† Mr. *Fox* did not at this time resign the pay-office, but only the management of the House of Commons. Mr. *Grenville* succeeded him in the last department.

tions that there be laid before the House copies of all the Memorials delivered by Count *Fuentes* to his Majesty's ministers, relating to the demand of liberty to the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and also copies of Memorials delivered by the said ambassador of Spain to his Majesty's ministers, relating to the destruction and evacuation of any establishments made by British subjects on the coasts of Honduras, and relating to the right of cutting logwood there; and also copies of all Memorials delivered by the said ambassador to his Majesty's ministers, demanding restitution of the prizes taken during this war on the subjects of Spain; together with copies of the answers given by the court of Great Britain to the court of Spain on the three above demands."

Mr. *Pitt* supported this motion. 'He did not wish, he said, that any part of his conduct should be covered or concealed from the public. On the contrary, he declared it to be his wish and his ardent desire to see laid open and revealed both the motives and actions of every part of his administration. He therefore pressed with zeal the laying before the House every paper relative to the six years negotiation with Spain, that the justice and candour of the crown of England on the one hand, and the chicanery,

insolence and perfidy of Spain on the other, might be made apparent to the whole House. [This appeal to so much written evidence spoke the strongest language of conscious integrity.] ‘Much stress, he added, had been laid without doors, on his refusing to receive the Memorial offered by M. *Bussy*, relative to the concerns of Spain. In refusing that Memorial, he said, he had followed the *precedent* of the court of Spain, which had returned, as inadmissible, a memorial of the King of Great Britain. He thought it was of consequence to the House to know both the *matter* and the *expression* of that Memorial, as it related to one of the three points in negotiation.’

But upon calling for the question, a negative was put upon the motion.

The debate being over, Mr. *Fox* stood up, and said, ‘That if any particular paper necessary to the vindication of certain persons, was specifically moved for, it would be given.’

‘Mr. *Pitt* treated this as a captious offer; he saw through its fallacy, and refused to accept it. What he earnestly wished for was *all* the papers relative to the six years negotiation, which having been refused, he said the gentleman who

made the offer very well knew that he (*Mr. Pitt*) *could not mark out*, nor call in a Parliamentary way, for *a specific paper*, with the contents of which he had been intrusted before by the King, *under the seal of secrecy.*

Mr. Pitt took no farther part in the debates of this session until the month of May 1762; when the King sent a message to the House of Commons, informing them of the design of Spain to attack Portugal, soliciting their support of his Most Faithful Majesty. On the 13th the House, in a committee of supply, voted one million for that service.

Mr. Pitt, though not in the King's service, supported the resolution of the committee of supply. He began with pointing out the necessity of continuing the war in Germany, and of supporting the King of Portugal. He observed, 'That, in times of war, connexions with the continent had always been found political, except in the four unhappy reigns of the *Stuarts*.' Then turning about to several persons, he very jocularly said, 'You who are for continental measures, I am with you; and you who are for putting an end to the war, I am with you also; in short, I am the only man to be found that am with you all.' He then enumerated the successes that

attended the British arms in all parts of the world, and the immense advantages gained in our trade, 'which,' he said, 'would more than compensate the great expence we had been at; and which, he observed, was a consideration that had been overlooked by those who were complaining of the burden of the war. And in regard to contracting the expences, he entirely agreed with those who were for it; and urged, that whoever should effect this salutary work, would deserve the highest encomiums; but he hoped a distinction would be made between contracting the expence, and contracting the operations of the war, and desired any one present to shew how the latter could have been, or might still be done, with safety. He then remarked, that he did not find any less expence attended the nation now, than when he unworthily held the seals, or that more was done. And turning to the Marquis of *Granby*, he observed, that he knew his zeal for the service of his country was such, that if he had received his orders he was sure he would not then be where he was. And as to what the noble Lord * had said, no one doubted his capacity, if his heart was but as good; that as for his own part he could not tell the reason of the continental expences being

* Lord George Sackville, to whose speech this was a reply.

greater now than in Queen *Anne*'s time, unless it was because provender and every thing else in Germany was dearer now than then; and wished the noble Lord had explained that part of his speech, for he did not properly know what to make of it; it carried a something, a suspicion he did not understand! But if he meant that there had not been fair play with the money, he knew nothing of it; and then stretching out his hand, and moving his fingers, said, they were clean, there was none of it stuck to them, and that he would second any person who should move for an inquiry into all the money concerns; he was anxious to know how it was appropriated, that the whole truth might come out. He observed, that the noble Lord had said, he bled for his country, and he did not wonder at it; that it was his opinion he ought to throw his body at his Majesty's feet, and there bleed at every pore. He then represented, that in consequence of our withdrawing our troops from Germany, Portugal and the Low Countries might become a prey to the French and Spaniards; that in point of policy we ought not to suffer it; but that he did not mean to bear Portugal on our shoulders, but only to set him on his legs, and put a sword in his hand. He affirmed that France was almost a ruined nation, having expended, in the last year, upwards of

eight millions, and had been still losing; that he knew the finances of France as well as any man in England, and that we, by our successes, were repaid for our expence; that it was wrong and unjust to represent Great Britain in so deplorable a state as unable to carry on the war, for there were always strangers in the gallery who wrote to their friends in Holland an account of what passed in that place (and the Dutch forwarded it to the French); that it was well known England never was better able to support a war than at present; that the money for this year was raised, and he would answer for it, if we wanted fifteen or twenty millions for next year, we might have it. He therefore strongly recommended the million as desired; that he knew the cry which had been propagated for these three years. You won't be able to raise money to continue the war another year; and yet we all saw the contrary. He affirmed that one campaign might have finished the war, (alluding to his own proposal of declaring war against Spain); and, in answer to the gentleman * who had said that the complaints of the Portuguese merchants had not been attended to, he insisted, that, so far from it, he had spent many nights in considering them, and referred

* Mr. Glover.

that gentleman to what had passed between him and the ambassador of the court of Portugal; but those complaints, and the interests of the merchants, he said, had been abandoned ever since the period that he had been compelled to abandon his official situation. He then recommended union and harmony to the ministry, and declared against altercation, which was no way to carry on the public business; and urged the necessity of prosecuting the war with vigour, as the only way to obtain an honourable, solid, and lasting peace; and proved from the readiness with which supplies had been granted, there would be little danger of a stop on that account so long as the money was properly applied, and attended with success. He said he wished to save Portugal, not by an ill-timed and penurious, but by a most efficacious and adequate assistance.'

It is obvious from this speech in particular, as well as from the uniform tenor of Mr. *Pitt's* parliamentary conduct, that he was a constant advocate for all those public measures which had the national honour and prosperity for their object, without regarding the man or the party who brought them forward. If this had not been his ruling principle, it will not be supposed that he would have supported that very minis-

try who had so lately turned him out, in their first essential measure concerning the war.

The session closed on the second of June 1762.

The defence of Portugal was undertaken, without making any stipulations in behalf of our merchants, which the opportunity so amply afforded, and who had presented severally Memorials to the courts of London and Lisbon, complaining of the injustice of the last. So far from taking the least notice of these complaints, Lord *Tyrawley* was sent to Lisbon, in the character of ambassador.—He was, perhaps, the only gentleman in the British dominions to whom that court, at another time, would have made an exception. At this moment the court of Lisbon was under the necessity of being silent. Upon a former occasion Lord *Tyrawley* had rendered himself particularly offensive at Lisbon; and he seems to have been selected on this occasion, certainly not from motives of friendship to that court, although it was the most favourable period for establishing every necessary commercial stipulation with clearness and precision. But it was the system of the new ministry to humble and weaken the commercial energy of the nation! from a jealousy that such energy might rival or become dangerous to the aristocracy, and in time

become a check to the increasing influence and power of the crown. It is the pervading principle of most of the German governments, the more enslaved are the people, the more powerful is the Prince.

CHAP. XXII.

Resolution of the British Cabinet to make Peace.—

Subsidy to Prussia Refused.—Negotiation with the Court of Petersburg, and with the Court of Vienna.—Both made known to the King of Prussia.—Negotiation with the Court of Turin.—Anecdote of the Peace of Aix la Chapelle.—Pension granted to the Sardinian Minister.—Privy Purse, Secret Service.—Alterations in the British Ministry.—Lord Bute Minister.—His Brother at Court.—Interesting particulars of the Negotiation between Great Britain and France.—Lord Bute's Wealth.—Examination of Dr. Musgrave.—Union of the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville.—Dismission of the Duke of Devonshire.—Anecdote of the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Grenville.

NOTWITHSTANDING the British arms continued successful in every quarter of the world, yet it was the firm and unalterable resolution of the

British cabinet to make peace with the utmost expedition. By the extraordinary use which ministers had made of the press, already mentioned in Chap. XIX. the people of England became divided in opinion on the subject of continuing the war. The Scottish nation were nearly unanimous in support of Lord *Bute*. The British cabinet were influenced by the same principles, and probably by the same means, which governed the Tory cabinet of Queen *Anne*, at the time of making the peace of Utrecht.

The first consideration of the noble Lord who now guided the King's counsels, was to reduce the King of Prussia to the necessity of concurring in his pacific system. For this purpose the subsidy which, according to treaty, had been annually paid to Prussia, was this year refused, contrary to the most solemn engagements, and in direct breach of the national faith; not indeed by an open and manly negative in the first instance, but after an infinite number of promises of the money, and evasive answers to the Prussian resident in London, from the month of January to the month of May 1762. The cruelty of this sport in the British minister was embittered by the perilous situation of the King, surrounded by hosts of enemies, and disappointed of the only assistance he had a right to estimate in

his preparations for the campaign. However, his good fortune did not abandon him; for in the same moment that Great Britain became his enemy, Russia became his friend. The Empress *Elizabeth* died, and the Emperor *Peter* III. immediately withdrew from the alliance against him; so that the design of the British cabinet, in the refusal of the subsidy, was not accomplished, but though not accomplished, it was not abandoned: As soon as it was known in London that the Emperor, *Peter* III. was preparing to withdraw himself from the alliance against the King of Prussia, the British cabinet immediately opened a negotiation with the court of Petersburg, to prevent, if possible, a separate peace being made between the Emperor and the King of Prussia.—In this negociation it was insinuated to the court of Petersburg, in very strong terms, that the British court would behold with great concern his Imperial Majesty withdrawing from his alliance with the Empress Queen, and recalling his armies from their co-operation with the troops of the House of Austria; that it was not the wish of the British court to see the House of Brandenburg aggrandized at the expence of the House of Austria.

And from an apprehension that this negotiation might not be sufficient to answer the purpose,

the plan of another negotiation was formed : and the execution attempted by the most humiliating introduction. This was with the court of Vienna. To that haughty court offers in the utmost degree degrading on the part of Great Britain were made. A renewal of the connexion between that court and Great Britain was solicited in terms of supplication. The most earnest assurances were made, that the British cabinet never desired to see the power of Prussia increased by a diminution of the House of Austria ; that on the contrary the British cabinet would rather see the power of Prussia revert to its primitive electoral state. And to prevent any suspicion of dissimulation, this proposed alliance between Great Britain and Austria was further offered to be purchased, by some *concessions* that Prussia should make in Italy, or *elsewhere*. The British court, at this time, had no authority to stipulate for any concessions to be made in Italy, in behalf of the House of Austria ; consequently the word *elsewhere*, a word of unlimited latitude, must have been meant to include any country or territory to which the British influence either did, or could be made to extend.

These acts of proffered treachery were treated with contempt. The court of Vienna communicated them to the court of Petersburg ; and by

the last court, all the documents of both negotiations were communicated to the King of Prussia, which explains the cause of that coolness which subsisted between that Monarch and the court of Great Britain, until within a short time of his death.

A third negotiation, which was opened with the court of Turin, was more successful, soliciting the interest of that court with the House of Bourbon, to repose the most firm confidence in the pacific disposition of the British cabinet; at the same time imploring his Sardinian Majesty to become the mediator and umpire in all points of dispute. This was the *second* time that the House of Savoy had been authorised to dispose of the interests of Great Britain to the House of Bourbon. The first time was at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, which not being mentioned by the writers of the time, the reader will find it stated in the note*. And of the present nego-

* At the battle of Laffelt, Lord *Ligonier* being made prisoner, was introduced to the French King as soon as the action was over. The King said to him, *Hé bien Monsieur de Ligonier, quand est ce que le Roy votre maitre nous donnera la paix?* and at the same time commanded Marshal *Saxe* and the Duke de *Noailles* to confer with him next day upon the subject, which they did, and assured him that his Majesty's orders were, that he should be sent back to the Duke of *Cumberland*, upon his parole, with the fol-

tiation, Lord *Chatham* said, in the House of Lords, on the second of March 1790, "That the following proposal of peace: That the King was ready to make peace upon these terms: That France would acknowledge the Emperor, and restore all Flanders, except Furnes, in case England insisted on the demolition of Dunkirk; but if England permitted Dunkirk to continue in its present state, France would restore Furnes also: That England should restore the fort and island of Louisbourg; and the Empress Queen and King of Sardinia should make an establishment for the Don *Philip*, which his Majesty did not require to be very splendid. The proposal was debated in the British cabinet several times, and the cabinet divided upon it. Dr. *Maty* gives some hints of this matter in section V. of his *Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield*, but he does not seem to have been full informed. At length the Sardinian minister in London prevailed upon the Duke of *Newcastle* and Mr. *Pelham* to reject the proposal, under a pretence that it was incompatible with the treaty of Worms. Whoever will be at the trouble of comparing these terms with the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, will instantly perceive that they were infinitely more advantageous to Great Britain than the articles of that treaty.

But there was another circumstance, which marked this influence of the court of Turin more strongly: This was the negotiation for peace that was attempted to be opened on the part of the court of Madrid, by M. *Wall*, who came through the *Pays Bas* to London, with Marshal *Saxe's* passport for that purpose. He had several conferences with the British ministry on the subject; but when he began to enter upon that part which related to an establishment for Don *Philip*, he was told that it was expected that Spain should consent to the King of Sardinia's keeping *Final*, *Vigevanasco*, part of *Pavia* and *Anghiera*, with the free navigation of the *Thesin*. To this proposal M. *Wall* refused to give his promise; upon which the negotiation broke off, and M. *Wall*

court of Turin *sold* this country to France in the last peace." If we admit this assertion to have been well-founded, and there is no reason to doubt it, the court of Turin received favours from *both* sides. The British court were very liberal in the rewards they gave; amongst others the Sardinian ambassador, in particular, was gratified with a pension of one thousand pounds *per ann.* upon Ireland for thirty-one years, commencing the 25th of March 1763, in the name of *George Charles, Esq.**

returned to Madrid. And though these very terms were obtained for the King of Sardinia by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, yet as the conditions of that treaty were not so favourable to Great Britain as the terms which had been offered to Lord *Ligonier*, there can be little doubt of the British interests having been sacrificed, to secure these points for his Sardinian Majesty, who had moreover a subsidy from England of 200,000*l.* *per annum* by the treaty of Worms.

* This fact was first mentioned in the House of Commons of Ireland, by Mr. *Edmund Perry*, now Lord *Perry*, on the 24th of November 1763, in these words:

" I shall communicate a fact to this House, from which it will appear that the grant of pensions to aliens is supposed to be contrary to the sense of the nation, even by the advisers of such grant, and therefore not avowed, though made. There is a pension, Sir, granted nominally to one *George Charles*, but really to Count *Viri*, the Sardinian minister, for negotiating the peace that has just been concluded with the minister of France. I must confess, Sir, that in my opinion this service deserved no such recompense, at least on our part, so that in this case our money is

The reduced condition of France required no entreaty on the part of Turin, to induce her to

not only granted to an alien, but to an alien who has no merit to plead. If it is thought a defensible measure, I should be glad to know why it was not avowed; and why, if it is proper we should pay a thousand pounds a year to Count *Viri*, we should be made to believe that we pay it to *George Charles*?"

The reader will draw his own conclusion from the following account of monies issued for the King's privy purse and secret service, during the two last years of the reign of *George II.* and the three first years of *George III.*; taken from the 32d vol. of the Journal of the House of Commons, page 514, &c.

GEORGE II.

From October 1758 to
October 1759.

To *Edward Finch*, Esq. for his Majesty's privy purse 36,000l.
For secret service during the same period 67,000l.

From October 1759 to
October 1760.

To *Edward Finch* Esq. for his Majesty's privy purse 36,000l.
For secret service during the same period 66,000l.

GEORGE III.

From October 1760 to
October 1761.

To *John Earl of Bute* for his Majesty's privy purse 40,000l.
For secret service during the same period 66,000l.

[Here Mr. Pitt's administration ends. And here it is proper to observe, that not only all charges on the Civil List were fully paid to the end of September; but there was a balance in the

accept the pacific assurances of the new British minister. But before this negotiation was *publicly* opened, Lord *Bute* had avowedly assumed the character of prime minister. He had dismissed the Duke of *Newcastle*, and all his friends, and had established his omnipotence through every department of the state. He took the treasury himself, and appointed Mr. *Grenville* his successor in the secretary of state's office. Lord *Anson* dying at this time, he offered the admiralty to Lord *Halifax*, who at first refused it, because he wanted to be secretary of state; upon which Lord *Bute* told him he did not know what he refused; that in patronage it was next to the treasury. Lord *Halifax* then took it. He had recalled his brother from Turin, and had appointed Lord *Rivers* to that station. When his brother appeared at the levee, his Majesty

Exchequer, belonging to the Crown, of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and upwards.

From October 1761 to
October 1762.

To *John* Earl of *Bute* for his
Majesty's privy purse 48,000l.
For secret service during the same
period 72,000l.

From October 1762 to
October 1763.

To *John* Earl of *Bute* for his
Majesty's privy purse 48,000l.
For secret service during the same
period 72,000l.

honoured him with this compliment, "*I have now a second Friend here.*"

From the moment that Lord *Bute* became minister, it was the public language at the court of Versailles, that he *must* make peace if he wished to preserve his power; and therefore the assurances of his pacific disposition, and the offers to commence a negotiation, that court was prepared to expect.

The correspondence of this negotiation not having been laid before Parliament, it may not be improper, in this place, to state a few particulars of the negotiation, with some extraordinary circumstance relative to it, which, although they are known to several persons, who have been in certain situations, yet they are not known to the public in general.

The Duke of *Bedford* set out for Paris on the fifth of September 1762, with full powers to treat; and on the 12th of the same month the Duc de *Nivernois* arrived in England. A few hours after the Duke of *Bedford* arrived at Calais, he received dispatches from London, by a messenger who was sent after him, containing some limitations in his full powers. He immediately sent the messenger back with a letter,

insisting upon his former instructions being restored, and in case of a refusal, declaring his resolution to return to England. The cabinet acceded to his Grace's demand. But the most essential articles of the treaty were agreed upon between M. de *Choiseul* and the Sardinian minister at Paris, and Lord *Bute* and the Sardinian minister at London, without any other trouble to the Duke of *Bedford* than giving his formal assent. The manœuvre in making the King of Sardinia *umpire*, gave to his ambassadors the power of decision; consequently the Duke of *Bedford* had very little room for the exercise of his powers; until a circumstance happened which occasioned a division in the British cabinet.— This was the capture of the Havannah. The news of this event arrived in England on the 29th of September. The negotiation was nearly concluded. In a few days the preliminaries would have been signed.

Lord *Bute* expressed his fears that this acquisition would embarrass and postpone the accomplishment of peace, if the negotiation, which was on the point of being finished, should on that account be opened again; and therefore he declared his wish to be, to conclude the peace in the same manner, and on the same terms, which had been agreed upon before the news of this

event arrived, without any other mention of it than the name of it among the places to be restored.

Mr. *Grenville* opposed this idea. He declared his opinion to be, that, if the Havannah was restored, there ought to be an equivalent given for it. And in their deliberations upon this subject, it is certain that he insisted upon this alternative—either the entire property of Jucatan and Florida, or the islands of St. Lucia and Porto Rico.

Lord *Bute* adhered to his first opinion; upon which Mr. *Grenville* resigned his place of secretary of state, on the 12th day of October. Lord *Halifax* immediately succeeded to his office, and Mr. *Grenville* went to the admiralty, by which he was removed from the cabinet.

Lord *Egremont*, however, represented to Lord *Bute*, in very strong terms, the necessity of an equivalent for the Havannah. Either his Lordship's arguments or Lord *Bute*'s fears so far prevailed as to occasion an instruction to be sent to the Duke of *Bedford* to ask for Florida. The Duke had been informed of the whole dispute in the British cabinet by Mr. *Grenville*, and being entirely of Mr. *Grenville*'s opinion, he added

Porto Rico to his demand. But Lord *Bute* and the Sardinian minister in London settled it for Florida *only*. At Paris some difficulties arose. The cession of Florida was made without the least hesitation; the French minister instantly agreed to it; which shews the superior influence of the French cabinet in this negotiation. But with respect to Porto Rico, the French minister resorted to chicane and delay. It was at length agreed to send a messenger to Madrid, with this demand. Fourteen days were allowed for the messenger to go and return. During this period the Duke of *Bedford* received positive orders to sign the preliminaries. Two days after the preliminaries were signed, the messenger returned; and *it was said* that Spain had purchased the retention of the island. Whether the Sardinian minister at London or at Paris, or both, were entrusted on this occasion, or whether any other persons were admitted to the same confidence, are questions for the investigation of posterity. Discoveries of this kind are seldom made either at or near the time of the transaction. The offers of *Louis* the Fourteenth to the Duke of *Marlborough* were not known until the publication of *De Torcy's Memoirs**. Whatever were

* "I am willing you should offer the Duke of *Marlborough*, four millions, should he enable me to keep Naples and Sicily for my grandson, and to preserve Dunkirk, with its fortifications

the confidential measures, it is certain the Duke of *Bedford* was not entrusted with them. How-

and harbour, and Strasburg and Landau, in the manner above explained, or even the same sum were Sicily to be exempted out of this last article. *Mem. de Torcy*, t. ii. p. 237.

“ It is not necessary to have recourse to foreign examples. We have a *Sejanus* of our own. Have we not seen him for a time displaying his exorbitant treasures, in every kind of princely profusion? Has he not purchased estates, built and adorned villas, erected palaces, and furnished them with sumptuous magnificence? I am sure I speak within compass, when I assert that within these last three years [*this was written in the autumn 1765*], he has expended between *two and three hundred thousand pounds*: An enormous sum, equal almost to the whole revenues of the kingdom from which he draws his original! I could wish to be informed by some of those who are in the secret, how he has acquired such prodigious wealth. I will not suppose he *embexxled the public money*, when he officiously thrust himself into office, because there were so many checks upon him in that department that he could not easily have done it without associates, or possessing more courage or cunning than I take him to be master of.—But how then has he acquired such amazing riches? Tell me, ye flatterers of his, was it by *state jobbing*, or stock jobbing, that he is become, from a needy northern Thane, a potent British noble? What sinister method has he taken to plunder the nation, and escape the iron hand of justice? I am aware of the answer, that he has been able to make a purchase to the amount of ninety-seven thousand pounds, to lay out a large park, and adorn and build two magnificent houses, out of the estate which was left him by a relation three years ago. But such a reply is so false and foolish, that it scarce deserves a moment's consideration; for I will venture to main-

ever, as his Grace kept a diary of all public transactions in which he had any share, and as Mr. *Grenville* kept copies of all his letters on public business, if ever these are laid before the public, and it is hoped they will, many suspicions, which can now only be hinted, will be confirmed or obviated.

The examination of Dr. *Musgrave* at the bar of the House of Commons, although it was voted *frivolous*, perhaps will not appear so in the eye of impartial posterity. As this examination

tain that the whole sum of his *visible* income, for the last *ten years*, put together, will not amount to above 50,000l. As to the estate, it is not his; he is entitled only to part of the annual produce, for two thousand pounds a year were left to his injured brother, on whom he *affectionately turned his back* as soon as he had possessed himself of his natural inheritance. When this 2000l. *per annum* is deducted, there will not remain *clear to the Favourite* above 5000l. a year: And whether this is sufficient to account for all those immense sums which, to our amazement and indignation, he has lately expended, I leave every impartial person to judge.” *Anti Sejanus.*

It is, no doubt, yet in the public recollection, that a series of political essays, distinguished by the signature of *Anti-Sejanus*, appeared in the public prints, in the autumn of the year 1765. They were supposed to be written by Mr. *Scott* of Trinity College, Cambridge, under the patronage of Lord *Sandwich*. The above extract is taken from the paper of the 3d of August.

is not in every body's hands, the reader will find an extract from it in the note*.

* Dr. *Musgrave* read the following paper at the bar, being the information he laid before Lord *Halifax*, for the purpose of instituting an inquiry.

Narrative of Intelligence received at Paris.

1. The first hint I had of the ministry having been bribed to make the peace, was at the latter end of the year 1763, from Monsieur in a private conversation I had with that gentleman. The peace happening to be talked of, he made use of this expression, *On croit à Paris, que milord Bute a eu de l'argent pour cela.* Though the words *on croit* were pretty strong, and though Monsieur 's connections gave great weight to them, I considered the thing as an idle rumour, and neither pushed the conversation further at that time, nor made any inquiry about it afterwards.

2. It was not till the latter end of November 1764, that I began to think the story more worthy attention. Being at that time in company with three gentlemen, an Irishman, a Scotchman, and a Frenchman, a dispute arose about the peace: The Irishman and myself condemning it, the Frenchman remaining silent, the Scotchman alone approving it. The dispute did not last long before the Irishman and the Scotchman had occasion to go away, so that there remained only the Frenchman and myself together. Our conversation falling upon the same topic, he told me that he remembered to have heard, a little before the Duke of Bedford's negotiation, that a sum of money, amounting to eight millions of livres, (333,333l. 6s. 8d. sterling) had been sent into England to buy a peace; that the remittance had been made by Monsieur de la Borde, and another banker whose name he did not know; and that the way this came to be known,

The coincidence of opinion which arose between the Duke of *Bedford* and Mr. *Grenville*

was by the clerks talking of it among themselves after dinner. He added, that being himself in company with several gentlemen who were giving their conjectures whether peace would hold or no, one of the company decided the question, by saying, *Nous auront la paix certainement, car nous l'avont achetée.* This was all I heard the first interview.

3d. I communicated this account the next morning to a Mr. Stuart, my patient, who lived in the Rue de l'Echelle, with a Mr. Maclean. Mr. Maclean was then gone out, but upon his coming in I repeated it to him. It occurred to me, during my conversation with Mr. Stuart, as it did afterwards to Mr. Maclean, that the fact of money being sent over might be true, but that the destination of it might be a mistake; that in short it might be intended for no other purpose than to buy up English stocks, for the sake of selling them soon after at an advanced price. This account appeared so natural, that I went home in (almost) a full persuasion of its being really the case.

4. The same day, or the day after, I saw the same Frenchman, my informant, again. I put this objection to him. He answered readily, No, that was not the case. He knew very well, continued he, that Mons. de la Borde sent over a very large order for stocks, by the Sardinian ambassador's courier; but the money I speak of was before that time, and at least a month or two before the Duke of Bedford's arrival. Besides, I can tell you the people to whom it was distributed. It was divided among three persons, Lord Bute—here he hesitated for a minute or two. I mentioned to him the name of Lord Holland. He answered No; it was not Lord Holland, that was not the name; it was Mr. Fox. The third, added he, was a lady, whose name I do not recollect,

during the preceding negotiation laid the foundation of that union which subsisted between

This I am sure was all that passed upon the subject at our second interview.

5. The third interview was, I believe, on Monday the 3d of December. I then asked him whether the third person whose name he could not recollect, was not ———? He answered, No, it was not. That he had heard the name; that it being a name no way familiar to him, he could not, at such a distance of time, recollect it of himself; but if it was mentioned he believed he should know it. At present, added he, I only remember that it was a lady, and the mistress of a man of great quality.

6. I had hitherto made no inquiries about his authorities. But reflecting that a person who could know all these particulars must have been very near the source, I thought proper to ask him the next time I saw him, from whom he had his information. He answered, from an officer, who at that time furnished plans to the Duke de Choiseul's office, was of course greatly connected with it, and moreover dined every day with the principal people of the office; and there, added he, at table did these gentlemen talk over the affair, not without some satisfaction at its being concluded. Further, says he, this officer, who is now at Cayenne, reasoned thus with me about it: Is it not better to buy a peace at the expence of ten millions, than spend three hundred millions (if we could raise them) to fit our army for the field, which army, so fitted out, could not possibly do us any material service?

7. I had curiosity, continued he, to hear what the Sardinian ambassador's secretary, who was a great acquaintance of mine, would say to this. Happening to meet him soon after, I told him it was reported the English had given a great sum to

them until within a few years of Mr. *Grenville's* death. They perfectly agreed, *That better terms*

Madame Pompadour, to buy a peace, and asked him if it was true. The answer he made me was in these words; *ah, que vous etes bête? les Anglois donne de l'argent? et pourquoi faire? oui, oui on a donnée de l'argent.*

8. He further said, that, upon Monsieur Bussy's return from England, one of his secretaries having dropped some hints in company, *à un souper*, of what was going on in England, was taken up and put into the Bastille, that he might not, by any further indiscretion, discover the whole affair.

9. Upon my mentioning an intention of going to England with the news, he added, that the whole detail of the transaction might be known, either from Monsieur D'Eon, if he chuses to discover it, or from Monsieur L'Escallier, a wine-merchant in London, whom the Duke de Nivernois made use of as a secretary.

10. I pressed him about the authenticity of his account; his answer was, as to myself, *Je le croit autant que je eroit ma propre existence.* He assured me likewise, that the affair was shamefully notorious in some houses at Paris; *C'est affaire faisoit même beaucoup de scandale dans certaines maisons à Paris.*

11. I think it necessary to take notice of one variation, and the only one that I observed in his account. In the first interview he mentioned the sum of eight millions of livres*. In a subsequent one (I forgot which) he said between five and eight millions: Possibly this might be owing to his having heard the sum named in English money, and never having given himself the trouble of reducing it to French, because the last time I

* Compare this with the first paragraph.

of peace might have been had—that all was not obtained which might have been obtained. But

talked with him upon the subject, when I desired to know, as near as possible, the exact sum, he took a little time to recollect himself, and then said, between eight and ten millions of livres, that is, continued he, in English four hundred thousand guineas.

Extract from the Examination.

What was Lord Halifax's answer to this information?

I would first mention some previous steps. Lord Hertford having asked me if I thought it matter of further inquiry, I went to Lord Mansfield; he said he chose not to hear it. I then went to Dr. Blackstock, who read my paper of information, and told me that I should carry it to the secretary of state; that no Englishman would be averse to inquire into it. I went to Lord Halifax on the 10th of May; he desired me to come again that evening; I then saw him; he took the paper and read it, looked up and stopped; then said, I was recollecting, that that person bought stock at that time, but it might be with his own money. He read my letter to Lord Hertford, said it was a proper one.—He said, If I had been in Lord Hertford's place I would have sent it to —, and heard what he had to say. On reading the second letter, he said, This might be very deep; I would readily inquire, but it is an affair of such magnitude; and then put a case of a man's being robbed on Hounslow-heath, and going to Justice Fielding, and saying he was robbed by a tall thin man, and apprehended it was the Duke of Ancaster; there is no difference, only in the size of the purse. He said, if you had any proof, I would make no difficulty of telling it to my royal master. In my letter to Lord Hertford I mentioned the defectiveness of my information as a proof of the truth of it. Lord Halifax said, I think with you, it is more likely to be true from his

although they were convinced, and the fact lay within their own knowledge, that the interests

knowing only a few circumstances. The second meeting was a few days afterwards. He did not stick to one objection. I set down a few arguments to use to him, which I left with him; I have in my pocket the same arguments, which I set down a short time after, from my recollection. This is not a copy. [Read a paper, in substance as follows:]

Narrative of intelligence is sufficient for inquiry, though not for accusation, confirmed by Dr. Blackstone. The first of all crimes is hearsay; rare, at first, to stumble upon certainty. All offenders would escape if there was no inquiry. The high quality of offenders is no reason for stopping the inquiry; it must be done speedily; if the common people hear it, and believe it, they might do justice after their own manner. I recommend it to Lord Halifax, as one of the French ministers is here, whether he can be excused for not examinining into it, &c.

What said Lord Halifax?

Lord Halifax made no answer to the paper, nor did he controvert one of the arguments.

The next morning I saw Mr. Fitzherbert; Sir Geo. Yonge was there. Mr. Fitzherbert expressed his astonishment at my boldness in going to Lord Halifax. He said he would not have any thing of his writing appear. Mr. Fitzherbert said he had intelligence the French were offering money to get D'Eon's papers back. I went the same day to Lord Halifax, or the next day. Lord Halifax said, I will have nothing to do with the matter. I disbelieve the charge; if I did believe it, as strongly as I now disbelieve it, I should not think this sufficient ground to go upon. I told him it was his duty; he seemed surprised. He said his duty was to take care of the state. I told him that

of the nation had been sacrificed by the leader of the cabinet to his extravagant desire of peace;

Mr. Fitzherbert had said the French were in treaty for D'Eon's papers: I made my apology for troubling him, and that closed my conversation with Lord Halifax.

(Mr. Fitzherbert.) Did you collect from my conversation that I had the smallest knowledge of D'Eon?

I don't know I did; but Mr. Fitzherbert admitted the reality of the overtures. After the names of the two Lords were mentioned, Mr. Fitzherbert said, Did you hear nothing of the Princess of Wales? I said, No. Mr. Fitzherbert answered, D'Eon says the Princess of Wales had some of the money.

From whom had you the information of D'Eon's overtures?

The first was from General Conway. He first gave me a hint of it.

What was that hint?

When I told the story, Mr. Conway asked me if I had seen D'Eon: he said, I hear he has dropped hints. I told him I never would see him. I said, I will avoid all possibility of concert with any one. After this, I went to Mr. Hartly, and desired him to inquire. He desired first to consult Sir George Savile. Sir Geo. Savile came to us; I could not tell him the particulars, but only, that there was such a charge. Sir George Savile thought it was right to consult the Duke of Newcastle. He went to him: I was not present; but I heard that the Duke of Newcastle said, Fox was rogue enough to do any thing, but thought he was not fool enough to do this. The Duke said he could not advise them to meddle in it, for D'Eon will be bribed, and then you will be left in the lurch. I heard this conversation from Sir George Savile, or Mr. Hartly; from one of them, in the presence of the other. They both went to the Duke of Newcastle.

yet when the preliminary articles of the treaty were submitted to the consideration of Parlia-

(Mr. Conway.) What was the nature of his first application to me?

The nature of my first application to Mr. Conway was, I wanted to know how to convey a letter to Lord Hertford, not to be opened, to inquire whether the informant was apprehended. I had designed presenting a paper to the House of Commons, setting forth the information. He asked me the particulars, and said he would not encourage such application to the House of Commons, without a shadow of probability; and then asked if I had heard that D'Eon had dropped hints, and whether I would go to him. I said, No, I would not. Mr. Conway added, At the same time I think it the duty of every man to come at truth in every station.

Had you any intimacy with your informant at Paris?

It would be improper to answer that question—but they were men of credibility.

Had you any other information of D'Eon's overtures but from General Conway?

The first intimation was from General Conway; then I applied to Mr. Hartly. Mr. Hartly told me that D'Eon's letter was sent to Mr. Fitzherbert. Afterwards he informed me more fully, and named the two privy counsellors and the lady. He said the lady is the Princess of Wales. I said, it can't be, because my informant would not have forgot the name, and named another lady, the mistress of a man of quality.

Do you understand this overture of D'Eon's was contained in a letter to Mr. Fitzherbert?

Mr. Hartly told me so. I met him in a chair, and he said, All I have heard is, that D'Eon's letter was sent to Fitzherbert; that Mr. Pitt had been consulted, and had written a letter, dis-

ment, Mr. *Grenville* gave them his approbation by his vote, and the Duke of *Bedford* by his

suading them from proceeding. Mr. Hartly never told it me from his own knowledge.

(Dr Blackstone.) Are you sure I directed you to go to Lord Halifax?

Not directly to Lord Halifax. Doctor Blackstone said, You must by all means go to the ministry: It is an affair of an alarming nature. He sent three days after to know if I had been; for he said, If you had not I should think myself obliged, as a servant of the crown, to go and give it myself.

I took a minute of what passed between us, which I will mention to Dr. M. I took it immediately, and communicated it the same day to an intimate friend, and it has never since been out of my custody.

[Produces a minute taken immediately after Dr. Musgrave had been with him, on the 10th of May 1765, at half past eleven o'clock in the morning.]

“ Dr. Musgrave came and shewed me a written conversation between him and Mr. Le Beau, in the latter end of 1763, where he declared that it was believed at Paris that Lord Bute had received money for the peace, and many other conversations with another French ambassador. The sum of the account was this, That eight or ten millions of livres had been remitted by a French banker, just before the D. of Bedford went to France: That this was divided between Lord B. Mr. F. and a lady, name not mentioned; and that Mr. D'Eon, or Mr. Descalier, could inform him of particulars. He also shewed me Lord Holland's letters and answers. He told me he had communicated it to General Conway, and that he had learnt from Mr. Fitzherbert that D'Eon tells the same story, except that he mentions the Princess of Wales, which Dr. M. observed might be no inconsistency, if a Maid of Honour's name only was made use of, and the money

proxy ; nor was it until the open breach with Lord *Bute*, in 1765, that the fact concerning the

paid over by the Princess Dowager of Wales. Dr. Musgrave seemed to be attached to D'Eon's cause, and believed the story of his assassination being attempted by Count de Guerchy, and his coffers being searched. He asked me if this was sufficient to justify bringing it before the secretary of state ? As our acquaintance was small, I was surprised. I told him that the affair was delicate, both as to the things and persons, and that he should well consider the consequences if his friend should deny it. He said his friend was a man of honour, and knew he left Paris for that purpose. I begged to be excused advising him, but he would do right to consider that it would depend on conviction of his own mind, and his friend's veracity. It was equally a duty to disclose such a transaction on good foundation, and to stifle it in the birth, if founded on malice or ignorance. We parted, and he seemed inclined to proceed. I don't recollect the conversation he mentions three days after ; it might be : I thought him such an enthusiast as might have disordered his imagination."

(Mr Speaker.) The hon. gentleman delivered to me a copy of the paper he has now read, which has been in my custody ever since.

(Dr. Musgrave.) As to the second conversation, Dr. Blackstone will recollect it if I shew him his note, desiring me to come to him : I have not that note about me, but I am sure it is still in my possession. I don't know what he thinks of my enthusiasm, but I remember he trembled, seemed much affected, and let the paper drop as in great agitation.

(Sir Geo. Yonge.) After I had expressed my surprise at his coming to me, he told me he had laid the matter before Lord Halifax, who was willing to receive information from any gentleman whatever. He pressed it so strongly, that I thought he came with a message, but he did not say that. I said, If Lord Halifax

Havannah was known beyond the small circle of their indispensable confidants. This circum-

will send for me I will wait on him, but I know nothing of the matter with regard to the second meeting at Mr. Fitzherbert's, nor did I know he had told the story to Mr. Fitzherbert till I saw it in the papers.

(Mr. Fitzherbert.) I never remember being in the same room with Sir G. Yonge and Dr. Musgrave. Dr. Musgrave came and talked in the same style, and told me the story he says I told him. I don't remember I said any thing at that time; the Dr. came and told me this story. I will do myself the justice to tell all I knew at that time, though I don't recollect I told it him. We were then a good many in a society in Albemarle street: I had an office in that society: When he had told me all he had to say, I wished to change the subject! he would not; so I told all I knew of it. Captain Cole, a gentleman of general admission, had come to me, and said D'Eon desires me to tell you he is apprehensive of being taken away by force, on account of a quarrel with Count Guerchy, in which ministry would assist him. He desired me to communicate it to the society, which I did. He recommended D'Eon as an agreeable man. I communicated it to Sir Geo. Yonge, and desired him to go with me, because he could speak French, which I could not easily: No day was appointed; we never did meet; I never knew Mr. D'Eon; I never received a letter from him. As to going on with the conversation, and naming the Princess of Wales, I have nothing to say to that; I have no trace of it in my memory; it must depend on our veracity; nor had I any direct message but from Captain Cole, as to his apprehensions of being taken away.

(Mr. Speaker.) Dr. Musgrave, would you ask these gentlemen, or either of them, any questions?

(Dr. Musgrave.) I was not prepared for these answers, and I have no questions to ask them.

stance indisputably shews, that the public interest was not the first consideration with his Majesty's servants at this time. And it is believed, although it is a matter that perhaps will not be ascertained until some future period, that Lord *Bute's* resignation, in the month of April 1763, was occasioned by the junction of Mr. *Grenville* and the Duke of *Bedford*, and the menaces they held out against him respecting the negotiation for peace—that he compounded for his impunity by an abandonment of office to the Duke and his friends. It was, however, the popular opinion, that the political paper called *The North Briton*, written principally by Mr. *Wilkes*, had raised such a spirit of animosity in the nation against Lord *Bute*, that he resigned from an apprehension of popular indignation; and it answered the purpose of more parties than one at that time, to have it thought so. But Mr. *Wilkes* had no more influence in the resignation of Lord *Bute*, than he had in that of Sir *R. Walpole*, or any other minister.

During the time that Lord *Bute* held his public situation of minister, no favourite exercised

Motion by Sir George Osborne — “That the accusations brought by Dr. Musgrave are in the highest degree frivolous.”
Agreed to, January 29, 1770.

the power of the crown with more pride and insolence. This charge might be proved in innumerable instances. But it is not the design of this work to relate any occurrence, not immediately connected with Mr. *Pitt*, unless the same has been either omitted, or materially mistated, in the public accounts of the times. Of this latter kind is the dismissal of the Duke of *Devonshire*.

During the preceding negotiation of peace his Grace held the office of lord chamberlain, and although in the discharge of his official duties he was very frequently attending on the King, yet differing from his Majesty's other servants on political subjects, he did not attend any council held after the commencement of the negotiation. Early in the month of October 1762, he obtained his Majesty's permission to go to Bath. While he was at Bath he received a summons to attend council, and the summons, as usual, mentioned the business, which was, the *final* consideration on the preliminary articles of peace. The Duke wrote an answer, That as he had not attended any of the *former* councils on the subject of the negotiation, he apprehended that his presence at the *last* council would be improper. At the end of the month his Grace returned to London; and the day after his arri-

val, being levee-day, he went to court. The King was in the closet. He sent in his name. The King took no notice. In this particular the Duke was wrong—he was too delicate—he should have demanded an audience. He next desired to know to whom he should deliver his key? The King returned an answer, That he should send for it next morning, which he did, and with his own hand struck his Grace's name out of the list of his privy council.

The reader will make his own observations on this extraordinary conduct. No one need be told, that the *Cavendishes* were amongst the most warm and most determined supporters of the Revolution in 1688, and of the House of Brunswick; nor have their virtue and zeal diminished in an opposition to the most subtle attempts to accomplish the most despotic designs.

Nor has the immediate cause of the Duke of *Newcastle's* resignation been less mistated. When his Grace found that the annual convention with Prussia was not to be renewed, as usual, he suggested another mode to save the national honour, and which would, at the same time, support the national dignity and essentially contribute towards commanding the terms of peace. This was when the application was made to Parliament

in the month of May 1762, for a vote of credit of one million, his Grace wished to extend the sum to two millions. A vote of credit of one million had been usual every year of the war. His Grace's intention was, to have supplied the King of Prussia with the amount of his annual subsidy out of the second million. But this design being made known to Lord *Bute*, by one of the secretaries of the treasury *, almost as soon as it was suggested, that Lord opposed it with the greatest warmth. The duke finding this opposition from Lord *Bute*, and expecting no better success in the closet, he saw his influence at an end, and immediately resigned.

Mr. *Wood*, who had been Mr. *Pitt*'s secretary during the war, says in the preface to his Essay on Homer, that having waited upon Lord *Granville*, president of the council, when he was dying, with the preliminary articles of the treaty, and read them to him, his Lordship declared "It was the most honourable peace he ever saw." This anecdote only proves Lord *Granville*'s attachment to Lord *Bath* to the last moment of his life. The celebrated Dr. *Franklin* used fre-

* The political paper called *The North Briton* accused Mr. *S. Martin* of having betrayed the Duke of Newcastle to Lord *Bute*. *Martin* was also treasurer to the Princess of Wales.

quently to entertain his friends with an anecdote of this nobleman, which deserves to be remembered. Upon the embargo being laid on all American vessels laden with corn, flour, &c. in the year 1757, the American agents petitioned against it, and were heard before the privy council. Lord *Granville*, who was lord president, told them, That America must not do any thing to interfere with Great Britain in the European markets; that if America grew corn, so did England; that if America shipped corn, so did England. Upon which Dr. *Franklin* told his Lordship that America could not do any thing that would not interfere with Great Britain in some respect or other. If they planted, reaped, and must not ship, the best thing he could advise his Lordship to do would be, to apply to Parliament for transports sufficient to bring them all back again.

Has it not been the misfortune of England, that most of her great men have frequently shewn, that they were influenced by very narrow ideas, when exercising their political talents on national subjects? If the policy of that part of the treaty was just, which extended the British colonies in America, what benefit could be derived from those colonies if these ideas of restraint were to be maintained?

CHAPTER XXIII.

Extraordinary preparations for the Meeting of Parliament.—Preliminary Articles of Peace laid before Parliament.—Mr. Pitt's Speech against them.

PARLIAMENT met on the 25th of November 1762*. The most extraordinary provision was made for this event. The royal household had been increased beyond all former example. The lords and grooms of the bedchamber were doubled. Pensions were thrown about indiscriminately. Five and twenty thousand pounds were

* In the evening of the day preceding the meeting of Parliament, the members of the House of Commons met, as usual, at the Cockpit. Mr. Fox took the chair, and produced to the company a paper which he only called a *Speech*, and which he said he would, as usual, read to them. He afterwards produced an *Address*, which he read, and then said, that Lord Carysfort and Lord Charles Spencer had been so kind as to undertake to move and second *that* address. The same ceremony is observed with respect to the House of Lords.—The speech is read by some Peer, who is supposed to conduct the business of that House. The manager of the House of Commons takes the chair at the Cockpit.

issued in one day, in bank notes of one hundred pounds each. The only stipulation was, *Give us your vote.* A corruption of such notoriety and extent had never been seen before. There is no example, in any age or country, that in any degree approaches to it. The dole was lavish beyond the probability of account, or possibility of credit. Mr. *Fox* had the management of the House of Commons, with unlimited powers.

On the 29th of November, the preliminary articles of peace with France and Spain were laid before both Houses.

On the ninth of December they were taken into consideration, and a motion was made, "To return his Majesty thanks for his gracious condescension in ordering the preliminary articles of peace concluded between his Majesty and their Most Christian and Catholic Majesties, to be laid before them; to assure his Majesty his faithful Commons were impatient to express to his Majesty their approbation of the advantageous terms upon which his Majesty hath concluded preliminary articles of peace; and to lay before his Majesty the hearty applause of a faithful, affectionate, and thankful people, &c. &c."

On this memorable day, Mr. *Pitt* attended in Parliament, notwithstanding he was at that time afflicted with a very severe fit of the gout. He spoke in reply to Mr. *Fox*, who made the motion.

‘He began with lamenting his ill state of health, which had confined him to his chamber; but although he was at this instant suffering under the most excruciating torture, yet he determined, at the hazard of his life, to attend this day, to raise up his voice, his hand, and his arm, against the preliminary articles of a treaty that obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith, by an abandonment of our allies. He owned that the terms upon which he had consented to conclude a peace had not been satisfactory to all persons; it was impossible to reconcile every interest; but he had not, he said, for the mere attainment of peace, made a sacrifice of any conquest; he had neither broken the national faith, nor betrayed the allies of the crown. That he was ready to enter into a discussion of the merits of the peace he had offered, comparatively with the present preliminaries. He called for the most able casuist amongst the minister’s friends, who he saw were all mustered and marshalled for duty, to refute

him; they made a most gallant appearance, and there was no doubt of the victory on the main question. If the right hon. gentleman (Mr. *Fox*) who took the lead in this debate, would risk the argument of comparison, he would join issue with him, even under all the disadvantages of his present situation. His motive was to stop that torrent of misrepresentation, which was poisoning the virtue of the country.'

(*No answer being made, he proceeded*:*)

* The following paper will, in some degree, supply this chasm:

Mr. Pitt's Negotiation.

Mr. *Pitt*, and all the King's servants, insisted, "That the French shall abstain from that particular fishery; on all the coasts appertaining to Great Britain, whether on the continent, the islands situated in the said Gulph of St. Lawrence; which fishery the proprietors only of the said coasts have constantly enjoyed, and always exercised, saving always the privilege granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht."

Mr. *Pitt* absolutely refused to cede the island of Miquelon to the French, and the French

Lord Bute's Peace

Gives the French "The liberty to fix in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, and fifteen leagues from the coast of the island of Cape Breton; together with the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coast of the island of Newfoundland."

The island of St. Peter and Miquelon are both ceded to the French, in full right, without

‘He perceived that the right hon. gentleman and his friends were prepared for only the pre-

Minister told Mr. *Stanley*, “He would not insist on it.” To the cession of the island of St. Peter ONLY, *four indispensable* conditions were annexed*.—

The cession of the island of St. Peter, as well as some others, was not agreeable to Mr. *Pitt*’s own inclination; for it is a fact that both *he* and Lord *Temple* earnestly contested for the *whole exclusive fishery*, which, they said, ought to be insisted upon. But in this, as *many* other things, they were over-ruled.

Mr. *Pitt* insisted on keeping both Senegal and Goree, on the coast of Africa, “For that Senegal could not be securely maintained without Goree;” and M. *Bussy* “was authorised to consent to the cession.”

Mr. *Pitt* positively refused to cede the island of St. Lucia to France. His negotiation declares “the cession by no means admissible.”

Mr. *Pitt* treated the King of Prussia with efficacy and good

any one of the *four indispensable* conditions. No English commissary is allowed to reside there; our security is on the *present* French King’s royal word, but not a syllable is mentioned of any engagement for his successors.

Lord *Bute* gave away the island of Goree, which was of the greatest importance to France, as it serves her as a security in the supply of negroes for the French West Indies.”

Lord *Bute* ceded St. Lucia in full right to France.

Lord *Bute* both deceived and betrayed the King of Prussia.

* See in the Appendix H. the answer of Mr. *Pitt* to the Ultimatum of France delivered by M. *Bussy*, on the 16th of August 1761.

sent question. He would, therefore, take a view of the articles as they appeared in the paper upon the table.'

faith. The answer to the French Ultimatum says, "As to what regards the *restitution* and evacuation of the conquests made by France on the King's allies in Germany, and particularly of Wesel, and other territories of the King of Prussia, his Majesty persists in his demand relative to that subject, in the *ultimatum* of England, viz. That they be *restored* and evacuated." The French having proposed the keeping possession of the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, Mr. Pitt returned this answer in writing, which was applauded by *all* the King's ministers:—"I likewise return you, as totally inadmissible, the memorial relative to the King of Prussia, as implying an attempt on the honour of Great Britain, and the fidelity with which his Majesty will always fulfil his engagements with his allies."

He first broke the faith of the nation, by refusing the subsidy to that monarch; then in the preliminary articles of peace, he stipulated evacuation and *restoration* with regard to the conquests made on our allies, except the King of Prussia, for whom he stipulated *evacuation only*. All the conquests which the French were in possession of belonging to Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, &c. amounted to only a few villages, not exceeding one hundred acres of land in the whole. But the places belonging to the King of Prussia of which the French were in possession, were Cleves, Gueldres, Wesel, &c. Thus Lord Bute, instead of behaving to the King of Prussia with good faith, becoming an ally, acted like an open enemy to him, and left the French at full liberty to evacuate those places, and all others which they held belonging to that monarch, *to whom they pleased*. And lastly, he

said, the dominions of the King of Prussia "*were to be scrambled for*." That was his phrase in the House of Lords.—And it was

[Mr. Pitt was so excessively ill, and his pain so exceedingly acute, that the House unanimously desired he might be indulged to deliver his sentiments sitting—a circumstance that was unprecedented. Hitherto he had been supported by two of his friends.]

The first important article was the fishery. The terms in which this article was written appeared to him to give to France a grant of the whole fishery. There was an absolute unconditional surrender of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which, if France continued to be as attentive to her own interest as we have hitherto found her, would enable her to recover her marine. He considered this to be a most dangerous article to the maritime strength and future power of Great Britain. In the negotiation he had with M. *Bussy*, he had acquiesced very near being the case; for as soon as the treaty was signed, the court of Vienna ordered a large body of troops to begin their march for the Netherlands, with a view to enter those places the moment the French should evacuate them. The King of Prussia did the same. The Netherlands were thus threatened with becoming the theatre of war; and the French minister foreseeing that France must take part in it, he proposed to the King of Prussia to deliver up all those places to him, provided his Majesty would sign a neutrality for the Netherlands. The King agreed to the proposal, and purchased his territories on that condition.

in the cession of St. Pierre *only*; after having, he said, several times in vain contended for the whole exclusive fishery; but he was over-ruled; he repeated *he was over-ruled*, not by the foreign enemy, but by another enemy. After many struggles, he obtained four limitations to the island of St. Pierre; they were indispensable conditions, but they were omitted in the present treaty. If they were necessary in the surrender of one island, they were doubly necessary in the surrender of two. In the volumes of abuse which had been so plentifully bestowed upon him, by the writers who were paid and patronized by those who held great employments in the state, the cession of Pierre *only* had been condemned in terms of acrimony. He had been reminded that the Earl of *Oxford* was impeached for allowing the French liberty to fish and dry fish on Newfoundland. He admitted the fact. But that impeachment was a scandalous measure, was disapproved by every impartial person. In one article (the seventeenth), the minister is accused of having advised the *destructive* expedition against Canada. — Why was that expedition called *destructive*? because it was not successful. Thus have events been considered by Parliament as standards of political judgment. Had the expedition to Canada, under general *Wolfe*, been unsuccessful,

there is no doubt it would also have been called *destructive*, and some of the gentlemen now in office would this day have been calling for vengeance on the minister's head.

‘ Of Dunkirk he said but little. The French were more favoured in this article of the present preliminaries, than they had been by any former treaty. He had made the treaty of Aix la Chapelle his guide on this point; but in the present treaty even that requisition was disregarded*.

‘ Of the dereliction of North America by the French, he entirely approved. But the negotiators had no trouble in obtaining this acquisition. It had been the *uti possidetis* in his own negotiation, to which the French had readily consented. But Florida, he said, was no compensation for the Havannah; the Havannah was an important conquest. He had designed to make it, and would have done it some months earlier, had he been permitted to execute his own plans. From the moment the Havannah was taken, all the Spanish treasures and riches in America lay at

* The proper stipulations concerning Dunkirk have been greatly mistaken: if the reader will take the trouble to turn to the events of 1765, during the administration of the Marquis of Rockingham, he will find this matter explained more clearly than it has hitherto been,

our mercy. Spain had purchased the security of all these, and the restoration of Cuba also, with the cession of Florida only. It was no equivalent. There had been a bargain, but the terms were inadequate. They were inadequate in every point where the principle of reciprocity was affected to be introduced

‘He had been blamed for consenting to give up Guadaloupe. That cession had been a question in another place. He wished to have kept the island (see Appendix M.); he had been over-ruled in that point also; he could not help it; he had been over-ruled many times—on many occasions; he had acquiesced—he had submitted; but at length he saw that all his measures—all his sentiments, were inimical to the new system—to those persons to whom his Majesty had given his confidence. But to Guadaloupe these persons had added the cession of Martinique. Why did they permit the forces to conquer Martinique, if they were resolved to restore it? Was it because the preparations for that conquest were so far advanced they were afraid to countermand them? And to the cession of the islands of Cuba, Guadaloupe, and Martinique, there is added the island of St Lucia, the only valuable one of the neutral islands. It is impossible, said he, to form any judgment of

the motives which can have influenced his Majesty's servants to make these important sacrifices. They seem to have lost sight of the great fundamental principle, That France is chiefly, if not solely, to be dreaded by us in the light of a maritime and commercial power: And therefore, by restoring to her all the valuable West India islands, and by our concessions in the Newfoundland fishery, we had given to her the means of recovering her prodigious losses, and of becoming once more formidable to us at sea. That the fishery trained up an innumerable multitude of young seamen, and that the West India trade employed them when they were trained. After the peace of Aix la Chapelle, France gained a decided superiority over us in this lucrative branch of commerce, and supplied almost all Europe with the rich commodities which are produced only in that part of the world. By this commerce she enriched her merchants, and augmented her finances. The state of the existing trade in the conquests in North America, is extremely low; the speculations of their future are precarious, and the prospect at the very best is remote. We stand in need of supplies, which will have an effect, certain, speedy, and considerable. The retaining both, or even one of the considerable French islands, Martinico or Guadaloupe, will, and nothing else can, effectually

answer this triple purpose. The advantage is immediate. It is a matter not of conjecture, but of account. The trade with these conquests is of the most lucrative nature, and of the most considerable extent; the number of ships employed by it are a great resource to our maritime power; and what is of equal weight, all that we gain on this system is made fourfold to us, by the loss which ensues to France. But our conquests in North America are of very little detriment to the commerce of France. On the West Indian scheme of acquisition, our gain and her loss go hand in hand. He insisted upon the obvious connection of this trade with that of the colonies in North America, and with our commerce to the coast of Africa. The African trade would be augmented, which, with that of North America, would all center in Great Britain. But if the islands are all restored, a great part of the benefit of the colony trade must redound to those who were lately our enemies, and will always be our rivals. Though we had retained either Martinico or Guadaloupe, or even both these islands, our conquests were such that there was still abundant matter left to display our moderation.

‘Goree, he said, is also surrendered, without the least apparent necessity, notwithstanding it

had been agreed in the negotiation with M. *Bussy*, that it should remain with the British crown, because it was essential to the security of Senegal.

‘ In the East Indies there was an engagement for mutual restitution of conquests.—He asked, What were the conquests which France had to restore? He declared that she had none. All the conquests which France had made had been retaken, and were in our own possession; as were likewise all the French settlements and factories. Therefore, the restitution was all from one side. We retained nothing, although we had conquered every thing.

‘ The restitution of Minorca he approved; and that, he said, was the only conquest which France had to restore; and for this island we had given the East Indies, the West Indies, and Africa. The purchase was made at a price that was fifty times more than it was worth. Belleisle alone, he affirmed, was a sufficient equivalent for Minorca.

‘ As to Germany, he said, it was a wide field; a tedious and lengthened consideration, including the interests of many hostile powers; some of them immediately, and others eventually, con-

nected with Great Britain. There might sometimes be policy in the construction of our measures, to consult our insular situation only. But while we had France for our enemy, it was a scene to employ, and to baffle her arms. Had the armies of France not been employed in Germany, they would have been transported to America, where we should have found it more difficult to have conquered them. And if we had succeeded, the expence would have been greater. Let any one, he said, make a fair estimate of the expence of transports and provisions to that distant climate, and he will find, in the article of expence, the war in Germany to be infinitely less than in the wilds of America. Upon this principle he affirmed that the conquests made in America had been owing to the employment of the French army in Germany. He said, with an emphasis, that America had been conquered in Germany.

‘ He owned that several objections had been made to the German war. He thought them frivolous and puerile, factious and malicious. It had been said, that during twelve months after the Marathon of Minden, not a squadron of ships had been sent to make any British conquests: If this be true, will any man say that France would, the day before the battle of Minden,

have made those humiliating concessions she afterwards did make? To what but her ill success in the German war, was it owing that she submitted to the most mortifying terms in the late negotiation with M. *Bussy*? These facts speak for themselves; and from them it appears that the cessions offered by France, during the late negotiation, which will always be remembered with glory to Great Britain, were owing to our perseverance in the German war, and to our observing good faith towards our Protestant allies on the continent.

‘ Other objections had been made, and while he was upon the subject he would take notice of them. It had been said, that the French subsidies do not amount to half what we pay. The subsidies which the French actually pay may not, but what they promise mount to double. They subsidize Sweden, Russia, and the Swisses, several Italian states, and, if we are to believe their own writers, even the Danes; those subsidies are most, or all of them, for negative services. They have got nothing by the Swedes; they have got nothing by the Empress of Russia, though she has got a great deal for herself; they have got far less by the Empress Queen, if we except the honour of having buried above 150,000 of their best troops in Germany. The

Wirtemburghers, it is well known, have refused to serve them ; the Swiss and Italian states cannot serve them, and the Danes give them—a neutrality.

‘ The subsidy to Hesse had been arraigned, and falsehood had been added to malignity. But it ought to be remembered, that the treaty with Hesse was made before he came into office. An imputation of crime to him, for not breaking that alliance, came with a very ill grace from them who made it. They blamed him for consenting to pay the Prince of Hesse a sum of money for the damage done by the French in his dominions. He was astonished that any set of men, who arrogated to themselves the distinction of friends to his present Majesty, should represent this circumstance as a crime. Can a people, he asked, who impeached the Tory ministry of Queen *Anne*, for not supporting the Catalans at an expence that would have cost some millions, against their King, merely because they were our allies—can a people who unanimously gave 100,000*l.* as a relief to the Portuguese, when under the afflicting hand of heaven, merely because they were our allies—can a people who indemnify their American subjects, whom at the same time they protect in their possessions, and even give damages to their own publicans when they suffer,

though in pursuance of our own acts of Parliament—can such a people cry aloud against the moderate relief to a Prince, the ally and son-in-law of Great Britain, who is embarked in the same cause with Great Britain, who is suffering for her, who for her sake is driven from his dominions, where he is unable to raise one shilling of his revenue, and with his wife, the daughter of our late venerable monarch, is reduced to a state of exile and indigence? Surely they cannot. Let our munificence, therefore, to such a Prince, be never again repeated.

‘ It had been exultingly said, that the present German war had overturned that balance of power which we had fought for in the reigns of King *William* and Queen *Anne*. This assertion was so far from having the smallest foundation in truth, that he believed the most superficial observers of public affairs scarcely stood in need of being told, that that balance was overturned long before this war had existence. It was overturned by the Dutch before the end of the late war. When the French saw that they had nothing to apprehend from the Dutch, they blew up that barrier for which our *Nassaus* and *Marlboroughs* had fought. The Louvestein faction again got the ascendancy in Holland; the French monarchy again took the Dutch republic under its

wings, and the brood it has hatched has—but let us forbear serpentine expressions. Since the time that the grand confederacy against France took place, the military power of the Dutch by sea and land has been in a manner extinguished, while another power, then scarcely thought of in Europe, has started up—that of Russia, and moves in its own orbit extrinsically of all other systems; but gravitating to each, according to the mass of attracting interest it contains.—Another power, against all human expectation, was raised in Europe in the House of Brandenburg; and the rapid successes of his Prussian Majesty prove him to be born to be the natural assertor of Germanic liberties against the House of Austria. We have been accustomed to look up with reverence to that House, and the phænomenon of another great power in Germany was so very new to us, that for some time he was obliged to attach himself to France. France and Austria united, and Great Britain and Prussia coalesced. Such are the great events by which the balance of power in Europe has been entirely altered since the time of the grand alliance against France. His late Majesty so passionately endeavoured to maintain or revive the ancient balance, that he encountered at home, on that account, opposition to his government, and abroad danger to his person; but he

could not reanimate the Dutch with the love of liberty, nor inspire the Empress Queen with sentiments of moderation. They talk at random, therefore, who impute the present situation of Germany to the conduct of Great Britain. Great Britain was out of the question; nor could she have interposed in it without taking a much greater share than she did. To represent France as an object of terror, not only to Great Britain, but Europe, and that we had mistaken our interest in not reviving the grand alliance against her, was mere declamation. Her ruined armies now returning from Germany without being able, through the opposition of a handful of British troops, to effect any material object, is the strongest proof of the expediency of the German war.

‘ The German war prevented the French from succouring their colonies and islands in America, in Asia, and in Africa. Our successes were uniform, because our measures were vigorous.

‘ He had been blamed for continuing the expence of a great marine, after the defeat of M. *Conflans*. This was a charge that did not surprise him, after the many others which had been made, and which were equally unfounded and malignant. It was said that the French marine,

after that defeat, was in so ruinous a condition that there was not the least occasion for our keeping so formidable a force to watch its motions. It was true, he said, that the French marine was ruined; no man doubted it they had not ten ships of the line fit for service; but could we imagine that Spain, who in a very short time gave him but too much reason to be convinced that his suspicions were well-founded, was not in a common interest with France; and that the Swedes, the Genoese, and even the Dutch would not have lent their ships for hire?

‘ He begged pardon of the House for detaining them so long; he would detain them but a few minutes longer.

‘ The desertion of the King of Prussia, whom he styled the most magnanimous ally this country ever had, in the preliminary articles on the table, he reprobated in the strongest terms. He called it insidious, tricking, base, and treacherous. After amusing that great and wonderful Prince, during four months, with promises of the subsidy, he had been deceived and disappointed. But to mark the inveteracy and treachery of the cabinet still stronger, he is selected from our other allies, by a malicious and scandalous distinction in the present articles. In behalf of the

other allies of Great Britain, we had stipulated, that all the places belonging to them, which had been conquered, should be evacuated and *restored*: But with respect to the places which the French had conquered belonging to the King of Prussia, there was stipulated *evacuation* only. Thus the French might keep those places until the Austrian troops were ready to take possession of them. All the places which the French possessed belonging to the Elector of Hanover, the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse, &c. did not amount to more than ten villages, or about an hundred acres of land; but the places belonging to the King of Prussia they were in possession of, were Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, &c.

‘ Upon the whole, the terms of the proposed treaty met with his most hearty disapprobation. He saw in them the seeds of a future war. The peace was insecure, because it restored the enemy to her former greatness. The peace was inadequate, because the places gained were no equivalent for the places surrendered.’

He was so ill and faint towards the end of his speech, he could scarcely be heard. He intended to have spoken to some points relative to Spain, but he was unable.

He spoke near three hours ; and when he left the House, which was before the division, he was in the greatest agony of pain.

The motion was agreed to by a very large majority.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Addresses on the Peace.—Mr. Pitt against the excise on Cyder.—Lord Bute tampers with the City of London.—Denies it in the House of Lords.—Proved at Guildhall.—A Portrait.—Lord Bute resigns.

THE addresses to the King, which followed the parliamentary approbation of the preliminary articles of peace, were obtained by means equally dishonourable and corrupt. There was one instance where the seal of a corporation was forged, and more than one where it was feloniously obtained. The city of London refused to address, although the sum of fourteen thousand pounds was offered to complete the new bridge at Blackfriars. No means were left untried every where to obtain addresses. The Lord-lieutenants had begging letters sent them to use their influence,

and five hundred pounds secret service-money were added to each letter. The sum of five hundred pounds was the notorious price of an address. Some addresses cost a much larger sum. The sum was regulated according to the importance and magnitude of the place from which the address was obtained. The corruption without doors was as lavish as it had been within. Of Bath, in particular, being the city Mr. *Pitt* represented, the reader will see the correspondence in the Appendix P. This conduct of administration exhibited to the world two disgraceful things; one, that the people were capable of being corrupted; the other, that the King was easily deceived. The former, until this period, might have seemed improbable; the latter might be possible.

Mr. *Pitt* took no other part in the proceedings of this session, until a bill was brought in laying a duty upon cyder and perry, and subjecting the makers of those liquors to the laws of excise. He opposed this bill very strongly, upon the dangerous precedent of admitting the officers of excise into private houses. Every man's house was his castle, he said. If this tax is endured, he said, it will necessarily lead to introducing the laws of excise into the domestic concerns of every private family, and to every species of the

produce of land. The laws of excise are odious and grievous to the dealer, but intolerable to the private person. The precedent, he contended, was particularly dangerous, when men by their birth, education, and profession, very distinct from the trader, become subjected to those laws*.

Mr. *Pitt's bon mot* in this debate, is remembered for the mirth it occasioned.

Mr. *Grenville* spoke in answer to Mr. *Pitt*, and although he admitted that the excise was odious, yet he contended that the tax was unavoidable; government did not know where they could lay another tax of equal efficiency. The right hon. gentleman, says he, complains of the hardship of this tax—why does he not tell us where we can lay another tax instead of it; and he repeated, with a strong emphasis, two or three times, *Tell me where you can lay another tax!*

Mr. *Pitt* replied, in a musical tone, *Gentle shepherd, tell me where.*

* The principal arguments against this bill may be seen in two Protests of the Lords—one on the 29th, the other on the 30th of March 1763.

The whole House burst out in a fit of laughter, which continued some minutes.

While the bill was pending, the corporation of the city of London became alarmed by this extension of the excise laws to private houses, and presented a petition to the House of Commons against the bill; at the same time Sir *Richard Glynn** told Sir *John Phillips*†, that the city of London had resolved to petition every branch of the legislature against the bill. Lord *Bute* was alarmed at the threat to present a petition to the King; and Sir *John Phillips*, in Lord *Bute*'s name, assured the gentlemen of the city committee, while they were waiting in the lobby of the House of Commons, at the time the petition was presented to that House, that if they would withhold their petition to the King, Lord *Bute* would promise, and engage upon his honour, that the act should be repealed next year. One of the committee answered‡, "Who can undertake for Lord *Bute* being minister next year, or for his influence over Parliament?"

This application not proving successful, a card from Mr. *Jenkinson*, Lord *Bute*'s confidential se-

* One of the members for the city of London.

† One of Lord *Bute*'s confidents.

‡ Mr. *Samuel Freeman*.

cretary, and now Lord *Liverpool*, was brought in the evening to Sir *James Hodges*, town-clerk of the city, desiring to see him next morning at Lord *Bute*'s house, in South-Audley Street, upon particular business. Sir *James* went, and was introduced to Lord *Bute* by the secretary. The minister requested the town-clerk, in the most anxious and pressing manner, to acquaint the gentleman of the city committee, that if they would not present their intended petition to the King, he would engage, and did then engage, to obtain a repeal of the Act next session. Sir *James* returned into the city, and collected the committee at his office in Guildhall, and laid before them a state of the conference he had had with the minister. The committee treated the promise with contempt, saying it was no more than a repetition of the same assurance which had been made to them the preceding day by Sir *John Phillips*. The petition to the Lords, and the peititon to the King, were presented, but without effect.

Lord *Temple* presented the city's petition to the House of Lords (March 28), on the second reading of the bill, and in the course of his speech upon that occasion, mentioned the circumstance of Lord *Bute*'s tampering with the city committee.

Upon which Lord *Bute* got up, and assured the House, “*That the whole was a FACTIOUS LIE.*”

This assertion was not only too coarse, but too strong, to pass unnoticed.

The corporation of the city of London immediately assembled to inquire into the conduct of the town clerk. At this enquiry Sir *James Hodges* acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the whole court, by a candid and fair narration of all the preceding facts; and at the conclusion he voluntarily offered to verify the same upon oath. From this inquiry it was indisputably clear *who was the liar**.

* A PORTRAIT,

DRAWN IN THE YEAR 1776.

TO draw a character so much beneath the honours of portraiture, would need apology, if the caprice of fortune, in a fit of ill humour against this nation, had not, by giving the original a situation for which Nature had never designed him, raised him into notice, and made him, in the consequences, an object of the public concern. It is only then for the most candid motive of a public utility, to atone for the ignobleness of the personage whose portrait is here exhibited; faithfully taken, feature by feature, without any the least caricature, and too fatally fulfilling the idea of a favourite without merit.

Constitutionally false, without system, and in the most capital points, greatly to his own disadvantage, so; being in fact neither

Lord *Bute*, finding his cabinet divided upon almost every question that came before them;

true to others nor to himself: Involved by the necessity of his nature, in that vicious circle of being false because weak, and weak because false.

Reserved, inward, and darksome; sequestered in some measure from society, taking covert in the shades of embowered life, as the refuge of vanity from the wounds of contempt. Clandestine without concealment—sad without sorrow—domestic without familiarity—haughty without elevation; nothing great, nothing noble having ever marked his character, or illustrated his conduct public or private. Reducing every thing to his own ideas, that standard of littleness, that mint of falsity. Stubborn without firmness, and ambitious without spirit. A frigid friend, a mean enemy. Nauseously bloated with a stupid, rank, quality pride, without the air, the ease, the manners, the dignity of a gentleman. Ungenerous without any very extraordinary note of avarice; but rather so through that poverty of head and heart, from which so many people of fortune hug themselves on what they imagine *saved* by the omission of some *little* circumstance that honour, justice, or taste required of them, though by that *little* so saved they not only lose the *much* they will have sacrificed to their various objects of vanity, but where they bespoke admiration find no returns for their expence but just censure and derision. And surely in this point of vulgar error, among the low understandings in high life, this poor man was not born to break herd.

Bookish without learning; in his library of parade as insensible and unconvertible on the great objects of literature, as one deaf and dumb questioned on a concert of music; as little of a judge as a blind man in a gallery of pictures. A dabbler in the fine arts, without grace, without taste. A traveller through countries without seeing them, and totally unacquainted with his own.

In a dull ungenial solitude, muddling away what leisure he

and fearing the Duke of *Bedford's* indignation, who was on the point of returning from Paris; he

may have from false politics, and ruinous counsels, in stuffing his *porte folios* with penny prints and pretty pictures of coloured simples, those gazing-traps of simpletons, and garnishing his knicknackatory with mechanical toys, baubles, and gimcracks, or varying his nonsense with little tricks of chemistry, while all these futile puerilities have been rendered still more futile by the gloom of a solemn visage, ridiculously exhibiting the preternatural character of a grave child. Bagatelles these, which it would doubtless be impertinent, illiberal, and even uncharitable to mention, were it not for the apprehension of his having inspired this most unroyal taste for trifles where it could not exist, but at the expence of a time and attention, of which the nation could not be robbed without capital detriment to it; a circumstance this, that must draw down a ridicule upon his master, not to be easily shaken off, and as much more hurtful to a Prince than a calumny of a graver nature, as contempt is ever more fatal to government than even fear or hatred.

Too unhappily, alas! for this nation, chance had thrown this egregious trifler into a family whom his domestic streights had favourably disposed towards him. How he maintained and improved his footing into a pernicious ascendant, is surely beneath curiosity. So much, however, it would be unfair to suppress that the attack on the fame of his political maker*, was not only treated by him with such an apathy as had nothing in it of a just and noble contempt; but to consummate the ingratitude, one of notoriously the first instigators of the scandal† was enrolled among his intimate confidants and supporters, without even this

* The writer of *The North Briton*, respecting the Princess Dowager of Wales.

† Lord *Talbot*, who was made Lord Steward by Lord *Bute*.

settled an arrangement in favour of the Duke's friends, and retired from his public station on

being the only appearance afforded by him of his not being infinitely displeased at the currency of the calumny.

As to the royal pupil, who, by a much misplaced confidence, fell under his management at the tender age of susceptibility of all impressions, it was not well possible for him to prevent a deep-rooted partiality for a choice manifestly not made by him, but for him. In raw, unexperienced, unguarded youth, practised upon by an insidious study of his inclinations, not to rectify, but to govern him by them; captivated by an unremitting attention to humour, and perpetuate the natural bent of that age to the lighter objects of amusement; instituted to an implicit faith in the man who littered his head with trifles, and, unable to corrupt his heart, only hardened it like his own against the remonstrances of true greatness, while warping his understanding with the falsest notions of men and things, and especially of maxims of state, of which himself never had so much as an elementary idea; thus delivered up to such a tutor, how could the disciple possibly escape such a combination? What of essentially wise or magnanimous could he learn from such a pedlar in politics and manners? No one can impart what himself never had. Honour, gratitude, dignity of sentiment, energy of sincerity, comprehensiveness of views, were not in him to inculcate. Obstinacy, under the stale disguise of firmness; the royalty of repairing a wrong by persisting in it, the plausible decencies of private life, the petty moralities, the minutenesses of public arrangements, the preference of dark juggle, mystery, and low artifice, to the frank open spirit of government; the abundant sufficiency of the absence of great vices, to atone for the want of great virtues; a contempt of reputation, and especially that execrable absurdity in the sovereign of a free people, the neglect of popularity; were all that the hapless pupil could possibly learn from such a preceptor.

the eighth day of April 1763. He made Mr.

Moulded by such an eternal tutorage, imperceptibly formed not to govern, but to be governed; and from being the lawful possessor of a great empire, converted into the being himself the property of a little silly subject; stolen thus away from himself, what remains for us but ardently to pray that, before it is too late, he may be restored to himself; that he may at length enter into the genuine spirit of royalty, assume the part he was born to, and have a character of his own: May he quit a borrowed darkness for native light, never more to exhibit, in any the least degree, the copy of an original, whom not to resemble would surely be the honour! Let him give us the sovereign himself, not the favourite at second hand, or what is still worse yet, the favourite's *commis** at second hand! And in this deprecation of detriment and dishonour to himself, there can questionless be nothing disloyal or disrespectful.

This testimony of a genuine sentiment takes birth too naturally from the subject with which it is connected to appear a digression; though in such a cause, and in such a crisis of the times, I should have judged even the digressiveness meritorious, and certainly alone the best apology for a portrait, the exhibition of which, from any motive of pique or personality, would be infinitely beneath the meanest of daubers.

Here it would be perfectly insignificant to search out the distinction, without a deference to the public, whether or not the favourite, after that scandalous desertion, when he as abjectly sneaked out of an ostensible office in the state, as he had arrogantly strutted into it, retains individually by himself, or by his appointment of others, the power of continuing that infernal chaos, into which he from the first plunged affairs, at the time that, through his cloudy imbecility, it so soon thickened in the clear of the fairest horizon that ever tantalised a country with the

* Charles Jenkinson, now Earl of Liverpool.

Grenville his successor*, hoping he should, by promise of meridian splendour. It is enough to observe, that since his having delivered up, to his own parasites, that master whom he thus made the center of their paltry cabals, and the prey of their sordid rapaciousness, it appears, at least from the identity of spiritlessness, of insensibility to honour, of want of plan, and of the total disorder in which we see things for ever languishing, that the same destructive impulsion still subsists; while none could collaterally be admitted into any participation of trust, but such as would wink hard, and at least pretend not to see through that gross illusion, with which a natural desire of not appearing to be governed, might blind a Prince, without imposing on any but himself.—The joke of holding committees with respective ministers of departments passes on no one. In vain would the master take blame upon himself, and father errors not his own. The wires of motion to the will have been too clumsily worked not to be seen, however they may not have been felt. Add, that the primary cause may, by the fairest investigation, be brought home to that unhappy man whom chance had thrown into a channel of power to do much good, or much mischief. The last he has mechanically done, without, perhaps, much meaning it, coming upon the scene with absolutely every thing in his favour, except himself. All prejudice then apart, mark in him, to his Prince a tutor without knowledge, a minister without ability, a favourite without gratitude! the very anti-genius of politics; the curse of Scotland; the disgrace of his master; the despair of the nation; and the disdain of history.

* When Mr. *Grenville* was appointed secretary of state, he was under the necessity of soliciting his brother, Lord *Temple*, to permit him to be re-elected for the town of Buckingham; and upon his promotion to the treasury, he repeated the same act of supplication. His generous brother said, It would have been a disgrace to government to have seen the King's first minister a mendicant for a seat in Parliament.

that promotion, appease the Duke's choler.—— it was immediately signified to all the foreign ministers, that his Majesty had placed his government in the hands of Mr. *Grenville*, Lord *Halifax*, and Lord *Egremont*, and as soon as the other arrangements were made (the particulars of which the reader will see in the list of administrations at the end of the work), the session was closed on the nineteenth of April.

It was upon the speech delivered at the close of this session, that *The North Briton* made those observations which drew upon the supposed author an illegal and vindictive exertion of all the power and malice of government. The particulars of this interesting affair have been amply stated in several books. In *Junius's* address to the King, originally published on the 12th of December 1769, are these words, “The destruction of *one* man has been for many years the sole object of your government.”

CHAPTER XXV.

Interview between Mr. Pitt and Lord Bute.—Conferences between the King and Mr. Pitt.—Treaty of connivance.—Mr. Pitt at Court.—His Remark.—Lord Hardwicke's conduct.

EARLY in the month of August 1763, a circumstance happened which threw the ministry into some disorder and perplexity.—This was the sudden death of the Earl of *Egremont*. The ministers had rendered themselves odious to the nation by supporting the measures of the late administration, and the measures of the court, in the persecution of Mr. *Wilkes*. Notwithstanding Lord *Bute* had recommended them to their situations, as the bargain of his own escape, yet he grew impatient under the proscription he had imposed on himself, and apprehending that their removal would be received with satisfaction by the public, he seized this opportunity, which the death of the secretary of state afforded, and the vacancy of the president's chair, which had not been filled since the death of Lord *Granville*, to form a new administration; not so much with a view of manifesting his influence, as of effecting his emancipation. He fixed his attention

on Mr. *Pitt*. His wish was to form an administration under the auspices of that gentleman. For this purpose he sent Sir *Harry Erskine* to Mr. Alderman *Beckford*, soliciting the Alderman's interest with Mr. *Pitt*, to procure an interview for Lord *Bute*. The proposal was accepted, and Lord *Bute* waited on Mr. *Pitt* at his house in Jermyn-Street, on Thursday the 25th of August 1763. Lord *Hardwicke*, in a letter which he wrote to his son, Lord *Royston*, gives the following account of this interview, and of Mr. *Pitt*'s two conferences with the King, which took place in consequence of it.

“*Wimpole, Sept. 4**, 1763.

“I have heard the whole from the Duke of *Newcastle*, and on Friday morning *de source* from Mr. *Pitt*. It is as strange as it is long, for I believe it is the most extraordinary transaction that ever happened in any court in Europe, even in times as extraordinary as the present.

“It began as to the substance, by a message from my Lord *B—e* to Mr. *Pitt* at Hayes, through my Lord Mayor, to give him the meeting *privately* at some third place. This his Lordship (Lord *B.*) afterwards altered by a note from himself, saying, that as he loved to do

* Sunday.

things openly, he would come to Mr. *Pitt*'s house in Jermyn-street in broad daylight. They met accordingly, and Lord *B—e*, after the first compliments, frankly acknowledged that his ministry could not go on, and that the **** was convinced of it, and therefore he (Lord *B.*) desired that Mr. *Pitt* would open himself frankly and at large, and tell him his ideas of things and persons with the utmost freedom. After much excuse and hanging back, Mr. *Pitt* did so with the utmost freedom indeed, though with civility. Lord *B—e* heard with great attention and patience, entered into no defence, but at last said, "If these are your opinions, why should you not tell them to the **** himself, who will not be unwilling to hear you?" *How can I, my Lord, presume to go to the ****, who am not of his council, nor in his service, and have no pretence to ask an audience? The presumption would be too great.* "But suppose his M——y should order you to attend him, I presume, Sir, you would not refuse it." *The ****'s command would make it my duty, and I should certainly obey it.*

"This was on last Thursday se'nnight*. On the next day (Friday) Mr. *Pitt* received from the **** an open note unsealed, requiring him to attend his M——y on Saturday noon, at the

* August 25.

Q——'s palace in the Park. In obedience hereto, Mr. *Pitt* went on Saturday at noon-day through the Mall in his gouty chair, the boot of which (as he said himself) makes it as much known as if his name was writ upon it, to the Q——'s palace. He was immediately carried into the closet, received very graciously, and his M——y began in like manner as his *quondam* favourite had done, by ordering him to tell him his opinion of things and persons at large, and with the utmost freedom; and I think did in substance make the like confession, that he thought his present ministers could not go on. The audience lasted three hours, and Mr. *Pitt* went through the whole, upon both heads, more fully than he had done to Lord *B—e*, but with great complaisance and douceur to the ***; and his M——y gave him a very gracious accueil, and heard with great patience and attention. And Mr. *Pitt* affirms that, in general, and upon the most material points, he appeared by his manner, and many of his expressions, to be convinced. Mr. *Pitt* went through the infirmities of the peace, the things necessary and hitherto neglected to improve and preserve it; the present state of the nation, both foreign and domestic; the great Whig families and persons who had been driven from his Majesty's council and service, which it would be for his interest to

restore. In doing this he repeated many names, upon which his M——y told him there was pen, ink, and paper, and he wished he would write them down. Mr. *Pitt* humbly excused himself, saying, *that* would be too much for him to take upon him, and he might, upon his memory, omit some material persons, which might be subject to imputation. The **** still said he liked to hear him, and bid him go on, but said now and then that his honour must be consulted; to which Mr. *Pitt* answered in a very courtly manner. His M——y ordered him to come again on Monday, which he did to the same place, and in the same public manner.

“Here comes in a parenthesis, that on Sunday Mr. *Pitt* went to Claremont, and acquainted the D. of *Newcastle* with the whole, fully persuaded from the ****’s manner and behaviour, that the thing would do; and that on Monday the outlines of the new arrangement would be settled. This produced the messages to those Lords who were sent for. Mr. *Pitt* undertook to write to the Duke of *Devonshire* and the Marquis of *Rockingham*, and the Duke of *Newcastle* to myself.

“But behold the catastrophe of Monday*. The **** received him equally graciously; and

* August 29.

that audience lasted near two hours. The **** began, that he had considered of what had been said, and talked still more strongly of his honour. His M——y then mentioned Lord *Northumberland** for the treasury, still proceeding upon the supposition of a change. To this Mr. *Pitt* hesitated an objection—that certainly Lord *Northumberland* might be considered, but that he should not have thought of him for the treasury. His M—— then mentioned Lord *Halifax* for the treasury.—Mr. *Pitt* said, Suppose your M—— should think fit to give his Lordship the paymaster's place. The **** replied, “But Mr. *Pitt*, I had designed that for poor *G. Grenville*. He is your near relation, and you once loved him.” To this the only answer made was a low bow. And now here comes the bait.—“Why,” says his M——, “should not Lord *Temple* have the treasury? You could go on then very well.” *Sir, the person whom you shall think fit to honour with the chief conduct of your affairs, cannot possibly go on without a treasury connected with him; but that alone will do nothing. It can-*

* This was an idea at that time so strange, that it could not be explained until about six or seven months afterwards, when an alliance took place between Lord *Northumberland*'s eldest son and Lord *Bute*'s daughter, which in effect made Lord *Northumberland* a part of Lord *Bute*'s family, and which seems to have been at this time in contemplation.

not be carried on without the great families who have supported the Revolution government, and other great persons of whose abilities and integrity the public have had experience, and who have weight and credit in the nation. I should only deceive your M—— if I should leave you in an opinion that I could go on, and your M—— make a solid administration, on any other foot. “Well, Mr. Pitt, I see (or I fear) this won’t do. My honour is concerned, and I must support it”—*Et sic finita est fabula. Vos valete*, but I cannot with a safe conscience add *plaudite*. I have made my skeleton larger than I intended at first, and I hope you will understand it. Mr. Pitt professes himself firmly persuaded that my Lord B—— was sincere at first, and that the **** was in earnest the first day; but that on the intermediate day, Sunday, some strong effort was made, which produced the alteration.

“Mr. Pitt likewise affirms, that if he was examined upon oath, he could not tell upon what this negotiation broke off, whether upon any particular point, or upon the general complexion of the whole.

“It will certainly be given out, that the reason was the unreasonable extent of Mr. Pitt’s plan—a general rout; and the minority, after

having complained so much of proscriptions, have endeavoured to proscribe the majority. I asked Mr. *Pitt* the direct question, and he assured me that, although he thought himself obliged to name a great many persons for his own exculpation, yet he did not name above five or six for particular places. I must tell you that one of these was your humble servant for the president's place. This was entirely without my authority or privity. But the ****'s answer was, "Why, Mr. *Pitt*, it is vacant and ready for him, and he knows he may have it to-morrow if he thinks fit."

"I conjectured that this was said with regard to what had passed with poor Lord *Egremont*, which made me think it necessary to tell Mr. *Pitt* in general what had passed with that Lord (not owning that his Lordship had offered * it directly in the ****'s name), and what I had answered, which he, in his way, much commended.

"This obliges me to desire that you will send by the bearer my letter to you, which you were to communicate to my Lord *Lyttelton*, that I

* Mr. *C. Townshend*'s explanation of this refusal was in these words: "Lord *Hardwicke* refused Lord *Egremont*'s offer, because he thought the *best of the lay* was on the other side."

may see how I have stated it there, for I have no copy.

“ I shall now make you laugh, though some parts of what goes before make me melancholy, to see the **** so committed, and his M—— submitting to it, &c. But what I mean will make you laugh is, that the ministers are so stung with this admission, that they cannot go on (and what has passed on this occasion will certainly make them less able to go on), and with my Lord *B—*’s having thus carried them to market in his pocket, that they say Lord *B—* has attempted to sacrifice them to his own fears and timidity; that they do not depend upon him, and will have nothing more to do with him. And I have been very credibly informed, that both Lord *Halifax* and *George Grenville* have declared that he is to go beyond the sea, and reside for a twelvemonth or more. You know a certain *Cardinal* was twice exiled out of France, and governed France as absolutely whilst he was absent as when he was present.”

To the preceding statement of Lord *Hardwicke*, it is proper to make some additions. The five or six other persons, whom his Lordship says Mr. *Pitt* named for places, were the following:

Lord *Temple* for the first Lord of the treasury, with power to name his own board.

Mr. *James Grenville* for chancellor of the exchequer*.

Himself secretary of state.

Mr. *C. Townshend* secretary of state, with the management of the House of Commons.

Lord *Albemarle* at the head of the army.

Sir *Edward Hawke* at the head of the admiralty.

On the Sunday between the two conferences, certain advice was given which broke off the negotiation. Lord *Bute* had the merit of bringing it on, and to him is to be ascribed the cause of its failure. It was signified to Lord *Bute* that if he turned out the ministry, his own *impeachment* should be the consequence. He took fright; and *again* compounded for his safety. But the ministers insisted upon his quit-

* He was second brother to Lord *Temple*. He was a man of excellent erudition and fine understanding. When Lord *Temple* and Lord *Chatham* differed in 1766, he adhered to Lord *Chatham*, and continued in that attachment to the death of his Lordship, whom he did not long survive.

ting London, and he agreed to pass the winter at his new estate in Bedfordshire. When this proscription was settled, the Duke of *Bedford* took the president's chair, Lord *Sandwich* was made secretary of state, and Lord *Egmont* had the admiralty. His Grace taking an official situation, the administration acquired the appellation of the *Duke of Bedford's ministry*. Lord *Melcombe's* words are the most proper commentary on this "treaty of connivance," (as Mr. *Pitt* called it)—"*It is all for quarter day.*"

On the Wednesday (August 31) subsequent to the last conference with which his Majesty honoured Mr. *Pitt*, Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Pitt* went to St. James's to pay their duty to his Majesty; they were both received in the most gracious manner, and his Majesty in the most obliging terms, said to Mr. *Pitt*, "I hope, Sir, you
"have not suffered by standing so long on Monday."
"day." Upon this occasion Mr. *Pitt* said to his friends, "His Majesty is the greatest courtier in
"his court."

Although Lord *Hardwicke* and the Duke of *Newcastle* affected to be well satisfied with Mr. *Pitt's* conduct in this negotiation, yet Lord *Hardwicke* was very desirous of a place at court, and would certainly have accepted of Lord

Egremont's offer, if he could have prevailed upon Lord *Bute* to have received the Duke of *Newcastle*, and two or three of his Grace's friends at the same time. But Lord *Egremont* would not undertake a negotiation with Lord *Bute* for that purpose, and Lord *Hardwicke* could not open one himself, having no direct communication with Lord *Bute*, nor any ostensible pretence for it. Even in the present design of making some alterations in the ministry, the application was not made to him, but to Mr. *Pitt*. From motives of policy he concealed his disapprobation of this preference given to Mr. *Pitt*: But upon the discharge of Mr. *Wilkes*, by the chief justice of the common pleas, he attended the levee and drawing-room, accompanied by the Duke of *Newcastle*, and a few of their friends. Finding this bait not to succeed, he afterwards courted favour in a circuitous mode, by avowing in all companies his opinion to be totally different from the judicial judgment of the chief justice; and he actually formed a league with the Duke of *Newcastle*, and others, to decide in Parliament that the chief justice had done wrong in releasing a member of Parliament from confinement for a libel, upon a plea of privilege, by an implied censure in a vote, declaring, That privilege of Parliament did not extend to a libel. This league

accounts for the protest upon that question not being signed by the Duke of *Newcastle*, Lord *Hardwicke*, Lord *Rockingham*, Lord *Sonds*, &c.; for at the meeting of the Lords in the minority, at Devonshire-house, to settle the words of the protest, the Duke of *Newcastle* excused himself from promising to sign it, by relating this agreement with his friend Lord *Hardwicke*, who at the time of this meeting was confined by sickness, and who died about three months afterwards.

CHAP. XXVI.

Meeting of Parliament.—Servility of the Commons; of the Speaker.—Versatility of Parliament.—Vote away their own Privilege.—Torture permitted at Hanover.—Royal Apophthegm.—The North Briton voted a Libel.—Mr. Pitt's Speech against the Surrender of Privilege.

ON the fifteenth of November 1763, Parliament met. The moment the Commons were returned to their own House from the Lords, Mr. *Grenville* and Mr. *Wilkes* rose together. Each was eager to address the House: Mr. *Grenville* to deliver the commands of the King—Mr. *Wilkes* to complain of a breach of privilege.

By the settled forms of the House, the breach of privilege ought to have been heard first; but the Speaker, as previously directed, pointed to Mr. *Grenville*.

The reader must have perceived, in the course of these sheets, that the corruption of Parliament, or, as it is fashionably called the management of Parliament, is become an indispensable part of the mechanism of government. The particular servility of the Speaker has been noticed several times—by Mr. *Pitt* himself, in his speech for the repeal of the American Stamp Act.

This Parliament which had been elected while the Whigs were in office—which had supported them, and deserted them—which had supported Lord *Bute*, and deserted him also—was now the instrument of the Duke of *Bedford* and Mr. *Grenville*; such measures as they found necessary for the establishment of their situations, this Parliament readily supported. This Parliament voted away its own privilege, in the case of a libel, at the requisition of the minister, to gratify the King, in accelerating the punishment of Mr. *Wilkes**; thereby sacrificing not their

* Mr. *Wilkes* was discharged from close imprisonment in the Tower, on account of his privilege. The warrant of commit-

own privileges only, but those of their constituents and posterity. The Lords adopting a vote

ment was not held to be illegal. A member of Parliament may therefore be committed for a libel before trial; and whether a paper be a libel or not, is a matter of discretion in the judgment of the King, his ministers, or his attorney-general.—And as to witnesses, an expert solicitor of the treasury can always procure them. So true are the words of *Algernon Sydney*, that “*false witnesses* are sent out to circumvent the most eminent men; “the tribunals are filled with *court parasites*, that no man may “escape,” &c. See his *Discourses*, 4to edit. p. 214.

The permission of the use of the TORTURE in his Majesty's dominions in Germany, would not be credited by the English reader, of a Prince of the House of Brunswick, did not the fact stand upon the unquestionable authority of that celebrated philanthropist, the late Mr. *Howard*, who gives the following account of the dreadful place in which the TORTURE is administered at Brunswick:

The descent is by fifteen steps, to a dark room, in which are some of the instruments of torture; through this room is another arched room or a cellar, 18 feet by 15, very black and dark; at one end is a bench for the judge, lawyer, secretary and surgeon; opposite them is a table for candles, books, &c. The prisoner who suffers the torture, the executioner, and his man, are before them. This is done about midnight, though the thickness of the walls (three feet), the four doors (which I passed), the dirt floor, and depth under ground, must prevent the most agonizing cries from being heard any where but in that room. I saw all the remaining engines of torture, which are kept at the executioner's house. He seemed with pleasure to shew the mode of application on the first, second, and last question; and very readily answered any inquiries, *having been several years in that occupation at Hanover*, though here, he said, he had only beheaded four or

of this sort could effect only themselves. But the privileges of the Commons are connected with the rights of the people. One cannot be sacrificed without injuring the other. As the matter now stands, any obnoxious member or members may be easily got rid of.—The King or his minister has only to charge him, or them, with being the author or publisher of a libel; or if neither King nor minister chuses to be seen in it, they can order the attorney-general to do it by his information *ex officio*. When *Charles the First* wanted to seize the five members, he was too precipitate. Had he taken the modern mode, he would have succeeded. It is related, as one of the royal apophthegms, that his Majesty, speaking of *Charles the First*, said, *He was a good King, a good King, but did not know how to govern by a Parliament.*

Mr. *Grenville* having delivered the King's message, stating that his Majesty had caused Mr. *Wilkes* to be apprehended and secured, for writing a libel, and that he had been released

five. On asking if nothing was put into the tortured person's mouth, as I had in some places seen, he replied, "No, the Osnaburgh executioner thinks they suffer less; and on his describing of some of the modes of torture (which the wit of devils and men had invented), he said, "Sir, the Osnaburgh torture is still ruder."

on his privilege, &c. the House took this matter *instantly* into consideration, and voted an address of thanks for his Majesty's gracious communication. The usual address in reply to the speech on opening the session, was not mentioned this day; and Mr. *Wilkes's* complaint of a breach of privilege, by the imprisonment of his person, plundering his house, and seizing his papers, was put off to the twenty-third.

The House immediately voted *The North Briton* a libel, although it was one of their own essential privileges always to treat the King's speech as the speech of the minister.

The right of either, or both Houses of Parliament, to declare any paper a libel, which is to be tried by another jurisdiction, may, in some future day, become a question. Such a declaration is undoubtedly a pre-judgment of the paper, and cannot fail obtaining an influence on the minds of the jury who are to try the cause.

On the twenty-third of November Mr. *Wilkes's* complaint of a breach of privilege was taken into consideration; when it was resolved, That privilege of Parliament did not extend to the case of writing, or publishing a libel. On this day

Mr. *Pitt* attended, although so severely afflicted with the gout, he was obliged to be supported to his seat.—He spoke strongly against this surrender of the privilege of Parliament, as highly dangerous to the freedom of Parliament, and an infringement on the rights of the people. No man, he said, could condemn the North Briton more than he did; but he would come at the author fairly, not by an open breach of the constitution, and a contempt of all restraint. This proposed sacrifice of privilege was putting every member of Parliament, who did not vote with the minister, under a perpetual terror of imprisonment. To talk of an abuse of privilege, was to talk against the constitution, against the very being and life of Parliament. It was an arraignment of the justice and honour of Parliament, to suppose that they would protect any criminal whatever. Whenever a complaint was made against any member, the House could give him up. This privilege had never been abused; it had been reposed in Parliament for ages. But take away this privilege, and the whole Parliament is laid at the mercy of the crown.—This privilege having never been abused, why, then is it to be voted away? Parliament, he said, had no right to vote away its privileges. They were the inherent right of the succeeding members of that House, as well as of the present; and he

doubted whether the sacrifice made by that House was valid and conclusive against the claim of a future Parliament. With respect to the North Briton, which had given a pretence for this request to surrender the privileges of Parliament, the House had already voted it a libel—he joined in that vote. He condemned the whole series of North Britons, he called them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable. He abhorred all national reflections. The King's subjects were one people. Whoever divided them was guilty of sedition. His Majesty's complaint was well-founded, it was just, it was necessary. The author did not deserve to be ranked among the human species—he was the blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of his King. He had no connection with him, he had no connection with any such writer. He neither associated nor communicated with any such. It was true that he had friendships, and warm ones; he had obligations, and great ones; but no friendships, no obligations, could induce him to approve what he firmly condemned. It might be supposed that he alluded to his noble relation (Lord *Temple*). He was proud to call him his relation; he was his friend, his bosom friend, whose fidelity was as unshaken as his virtue. They went into office together, and they came out together; they had lived together, and would die together. He knew nothing of any connection with the writer of the libel. If there

subsisted any, he was totally unacquainted with it. The dignity, the honour of Parliament had been called upon to support and protect the purity of his Majesty's character; and this they had done, by a strong and decisive condemnation of the libel, which his Majesty had submitted to the consideration of the House. But having done this, it was neither consistent with the honour and safety of Parliament, nor with the rights and interests of the people, to go one step farther. The rest belonged to the courts below.

When he had finished speaking, he left the House, not being able to stay for the division.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Prince of Brunswick visits Mr. Pitt at Hayes.—Anecdote concerning him.—Motion concerning General Warrants.—Mr. Pitt's Speech against them.—Mr. C. Townshend's Bon Mot.

IN the month of January 1764, the hereditary Prince of *Brunswick* came to England, to espouse the Princess *Augusta*, the King's sister. When the ceremonies were ended, he paid a visit to Mr. *Pitt*, who was confined to his chamber

by a severe fit of the gout, at his seat at Hayes in Kent. This visit was very far from being agreeable at St. James's. The Prince was just come from Berlin; and whether the conjecture was well founded, or not, that he carried a complimentary message from the King of *Prussia* to Mr. *Pitt*, the visit at least shewed the high estimation in which Mr. *Pitt* was held by the Prince, by the King of *Prussia*, and his allies, who at this time were Russia and Poland; while we were without any ally; and the great minister of this country, who had conducted the late war with so much honour to himself, and advantage to the Nation, was proscribed at Court, and deserted in Parliament. He was retired to Hayes—to his ability, glory, and integrity—where this young Prince distinguished him, by the most gracious marks of esteem and affection, filled with sentiments which were known to be those of the King of *Prussia*, and the Empress of the North. After this circumstance, his Serene Highness did not experience the most cordial reception in the British Court, and he was permitted to embark for the Continent, in a very dangerous and tempestuous season*.

* There is a circumstance concerning this Prince, which seems to insinuate, that the effects of this visit were not confined to an embarkation in stormy weather. When General *Spoercken* died,

On the fourteenth of February 1764, Sir *W. Meredith* moved, "That a *General Warrant* for
"apprehending and seizing the authors, printers,
"and publishers of a seditious libel, together
"with their papers is not warranted by law." Se-
conded by Sir *G. Savile*. Although the Constitu-
tion, the law of the land, common sense, and the
true principles of justice, all united in condemning
a *General Warrant*; yet all the Law Officers of
Government, all the subalterns of the Ministry,
all the people who called themselves *King's*
Friends, and all whom these could command or
influence, pertinaciously defended, not indeed
the *legality*, for that was impossible, but the *ne-*
cessity of the Government possessing a power to
issue these warrants whenever the Secretary of
State in his discretion should think fit. The de-

the Duke of *Brunswick* solicited to succeed him in the command
at Hanover; and from his having behaved very gallantly in the
British service, and having married the King's sister, every body
in Germany and England thought his claim so just, he must un-
doubtedly be appointed; but the Queen's brother, a youth at that
time, was preferred to him.

Another instance of the Queen's influence has been stated to
be, the payment of her brother's debts (the Duke of *Mecklen-*
burgh); soon after which, his Majesty applied to Parliament for
the payment of his own debts; or in the parliamentary language,
to discharge the arrears of his Civil List.

bate having continued all night, was adjourned to the seventeenth.

On the adjourned debate, Mr. *Pitt*, being able to attend, spoke in favour of the motion, 'He began with observing, that all which the Crown had desired, all which Ministers had wished, was accomplished in the conviction and expulsion of Mr. *Wilkes*; it was now the duty of the House to do justice to the Nation, to the Constitution, and to the Law. Ministers had refused to lay the warrant before the House, because they were conscious of its illegality. And yet these Ministers, he said, who affected so much regard for Liberty and the Constitution are ardently desirous of retaining for themselves, and for their successors, a power to do an illegal act. Neither the Law Officers of the Crown, nor the Minister himself, had attempted to defend the legality of this warrant. Whenever goaded upon the point, they had evaded it. He therefore did not hesitate to say, that there was not a man to be found of sufficient profligacy to defend this warrant, upon the principle of legality. It was no justification, he said, that General Warrants had been issued. Amongst the warrants which were laid before the House, to shew the practice of office, there were two which had been issued by himself; but they were not against libels. One

was, for the seizure of a number of persons on board a ship going to France; the other for apprehending the Count de *St. Germain*, a suspected foreigner; and both in a time of war with France. Upon issuing the latter warrant, he consulted his friend the Attorney General (who was afterwards Lord *Camden*), who told him the warrant would be illegal, and if he issued it he must take the consequences; nevertheless preferring the general safety, in time of war and public danger, to every personal consideration, he run the risk, as he would of his head, had that been the forfeit, upon the like motive, and did an extraordinary act, against a suspicious foreigner, just come from France; and who was concealed at different times, in different houses. The real exigency of the case, of the time, and the apparent necessity of the thing, would, in his opinion, always justify a Secretary of State, in every extraordinary act of power. In the present case, there was no necessity for a General Warrant. Ministers knew all the parties. The plea of necessity could not be urged; there was no pretence for it. The nation was in perfect tranquillity. The safety of the State was in no danger. The charge was, the writing and publishing a libel. What was there in this crime, so heinous and terrible, as to require this formidable instrument; which, like an inundation of

water, bore down all the barriers and fences of happiness and security? Parliament had voted away its own privilege, and laid the personal freedom of every representative of the nation at the mercy of his Majesty's Attorney General. Did Parliament see the extent of this surrender, which they had made? Did Parliament see that they had decided upon the unalienable rights of the people, by subjecting their representatives to a restraint of their persons, whenever the Ministers or the Attorney General thought proper? The extraordinary and wanton exercise of an illegal power, in this case, admits of no justification, nor even palliation. It was the indulgence of a personal resentment against a particular person: And the condemnation of it is evaded by a pretence that is *false*, is a mockery of justice, and an imposition on the House. We are told that this warrant is *pendente lite*; that it will come under judicial decision, is the determinations of the Court on the bills of exception; and, therefore, that Parliament ought not to declare any judgment upon the subject. In answer to this, he said, that whenever the bills of exceptions came to be argued, it would be found, that they turned upon *other points*. Upon *other points*, he repeated. He was confident in his assertion. He concluded with saying, that if the House negatived the motion, they would be the disgrace

of the present age, and the reproach of posterity; who, after sacrificing their own privileges, had abandoned the liberty of the subject, upon a pretence that was wilfully founded in error, and manifestly urged for the purpose of delusion.'

Upon a motion being made for adjourning the debate for four months, the numbers were 234 for the question, and 220 against it.

The Right Hon. *Charles Townshend*, who at this time was in opposition to the ministry, said to Mr. *Pitt* as they entered the House, that they should be in the majority that night. It was certainly his opinion; for he said afterwards to several of his friends, that he was confident they went *into* the House a majority; but that *Lloyd**; who had the Minister's *private pocket book* †, made converts before the division.

It was in the adjourned debate that one of Mr. *Townshend*'s happy *bon mots* was delivered. The

* Mr. *Charles Lloyd*, who was Mr. *Grenville*'s private Secretary.

† The term given to the Minister's pocket List of *his* Members, who have no ostensible places, but have *private* douceurs given to them at the end of the Session; and sometimes receive an *extraordinary* douceur for a *particular* vote.

Master of the Rolls, at that time Sir *Thomas Sewell*, who usually sat in the House in his great wig, said, in the first debate, in favour of the adjournment from the 14th to the 17th, “That
‘such adjournment, though short, would afford
‘him an opportunity to examine his books and
‘authorities upon the subject, and he should then
‘be prepared with an opinion upon it; which,
‘at present he was not.’ Upon the second debate, he said, ‘That he had that very morning
‘turned the whole matter over in his mind as he
‘lay upon his pillow, and after ruminating and
‘considering upon it a good deal, he could not
‘help declaring that he was of the same opinion
‘he was before.’ Upon which Mr. *C. Townshend* started up, and said, He was very sorry to remark, *That what his Right Honourable friend
‘had found in his night cap, he had lost in his
‘periwig.’*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Sir William Pynsent leaves his fortune to Mr. Pitt.—Similar intention of Mr. Hollis.—Present and Note from Wareham.—Pitt's Diamond.—King's illness and recovery.—Settlement of a Regency.—Disputes on that Subject.—American Stamp Act not Mr. Grenville's.—Lord Bute resolves to dismiss the Ministers.—Gets an Audience of the Duke of Cumberland.—The Duke sends for Lord Temple.—Conference between them.—The Duke goes to Mr. Pitt.—Applies to Lord Lyttelton.—Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville reconciled.—Observation.—Mr. Stuart Mackenzie dismissed.—The King sends for Mr. Pitt.—Lord Temple sent for.—They refuse the King's offers.—Observation.—King's Friends.—Conduct of the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Liverpool.—The Duke of Cumberland forms a new Ministry.

THE fame of Mr. *Pitt's* character, of his public virtue and great talents, excited no less the admiration of all independent persons at home, than of princes and potentates abroad. Although proscribed the Court of his Sovereign, he main-

tained a place in the hearts of the people. Although his Majesty's Council had repudiated his advice, and the representatives of the nation had engaged with a more profitable master, yet there were many persons, who saw no disloyalty to the King nor disrespect to Parliament (themes which are constantly dwelt upon whenever a proscribed person is popular), in continuing their esteem and veneration for a great character, of exemplary virtue and unrivalled abilities. Among these was Sir *William Pynsent*, of Burton-Pynsent, in Somersetshire, a Baronet of ancient family, and a large fortune: who having no issue, bequeathed his estate (of near three thousand pounds per annum) to Mr. *Pitt* and his heirs. He died on the 12th of January 1765. There was a contention for the property; and it was countenanced from a quarter where, it might have been supposed, the perversion of justice never reached. However it was of no avail: the will of the testator was confirmed*.

In the month of August, Mr. *Pitt* went into

* It has been confidently asserted, that *Thomas Hollis*, Esq. who died at Corscombe in Dorsetshire, in the month of December 1773, intended to have bequeathed his estate to Mr. *Pitt*; but he died before he was able to make the arrangement he had in contemplation.

Ralph Allen, of Prior Park, Esq. died in 1764, and left Mr. *Pitt* one thousand pounds.

Somersetshire. While he was there, an inhabitant of Wareham sent him a salmon, with this note: "I am an Englishman, and therefore love liberty and you; Sir, be pleased to accept of this fish, as a mark of my esteem; were every scale a diamond*, it should have been at your service."

During the greatest part of the session of the year 1765, Mr. *Pitt* was confined by the gout.

Early in the month of April 1765, his Majesty was afflicted by an alarming disorder. At the first audience he honoured his Minister after his recovery, he took a paper out of his pocket, con-

* Alluding to the celebrated diamond which Mr. *Pitt's* ancestor, *Thomas Pitt*, Esq. who, in Queen *Anne's* reign, was Governor of Fort St. George in the East-Indies, brought from thence, weighing one hundred and twenty-seven carats; and which, being refused by the British Sovereign, was purchased by the then Regent of France, for one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling. It was placed in the Crown of France; and for several years was called *Pitt's diamond*. For a description and representation of this diamond, see the *Museum Britannicum*, page 69, and tab. 28. And likewise see the account of Lord Chatham's family in the Appendix to this Work. In the account of the diamonds of *Louis the Sixteenth*, published by order of the National Assembly of France, in 1792, this celebrated diamond is called the *Regent*, and is there stated to be of the weight of one hundred and forty-six carats, and estimated to be of the value of twelve millions of livres; which is half a million sterling.

taining a speech to both Houses of Parliament, requesting a power to nominate a Regent, with a Council, in case of his death, before his successor was eighteen years of age. His Majesty gave the paper to his Minister, and fixed the day for going to the House. As this was the first notice the Ministers had of the design, they were greatly surprised by it. The speech was written, and the measure was formed, without their participation, or even knowledge. They had submitted to several invasions of their departments, by appointments being made, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military; some without their knowledge, and others contrary to their recommendations: But this was a stronger act, and a more indisputable proof, of a secret unresponsible influence, subsisting somewhere, than any they had hitherto met with. They were not very ardent, therefore, in support of the measure. A bill was brought into the House of Lords, agreeable to the portrait given in the speech. “To
‘ vest in me the power of appointing, by instru-
‘ ments in writing, under my sign manual, either
‘ the Queen, *or any other person in my Royal Fa-*
‘ *mily*, usually residing in Great Britain, to be,
&c. But a doubt arising on the question. ‘ Who
were the Royal family?’ It was explained, the
Descendants of *George the Second*. And this
explanation was declared by the Secretary of

State, Lord *Halifax*, to be perfectly agreeable to the Royal construction. The Princess of *Wales* (who was descended from another family) being thus excluded, the Ministers conceived they had thus gained a victory over Lord *Bute*; for he was the person who was believed to be the author and adviser of the whole measure. But the enjoyment of this opinion was of very short duration; for when the bill came into the House of Commons, her Royal Highness's name was added, on a motion made for that purpose by Mr. *Morton*, one of Lord *Bute*'s friends, immediately after that of the Queen. Whether Lord *Halifax* did not rightly understand his Majesty, when he reported the answer; or whether his Majesty did not rightly understand Lord *Halifax*, is a distinction not worth ascertaining. The original error was in the writer of the speech, who ought to have been more explicit. Perhaps he designedly, as well as cautiously avoided it; with a view to prevent, what by the family might have been called, invidious observation and personality. But the remedy was made, in a manner more palpably indicative of that secret influence, which dictated and controuled every important measure of Government*.

* It was in this session of Mr. *Grenville*'s Administration, that the American Stamp Act was passed; which Mr. *Grenville* afterwards defended with the warmest zeal and resolution; yet if we

Whether during the King's late illness, or at whatever moment earlier, or for whatever cause, the Earl of *Bute* took a resolution of removing the Ministers, are points, which can be explained by only those persons who were at that time in his confidence. The sincere opinion of other persons was, that some representations having been made by the subsisting Ministers, upon the appointment of Sir *H. Erskine*; upon filling the See of Armagh, and upon other promotions, some of which had taken place contrary to their advice, and others without their knowledge, the King was offended, and applied to his Favourite to emancipate him from these importunities. Whether this opinion was well founded, or not, it is certain that, ten days at least before any intimation was given to the Ministers of the Regency Bill, the Earl of *Bute* obtained, through the interest of the Earl of *Albemarle*, a private audience of the Duke of *Cumberland**. His wish was to bring Mr. *Pitt*

may believe Mr. *Jenkinson*, now Lord *Liverpool*, who, in such a case, may safely be taken for the best authority, this measure was not Mr. *Grenville's*. See Mr. *Jenkinson's* Speech in the House of Commons, on the fifteenth of May 1777. His Lordship has not yet informed the nation, to whom this measure ought to have been ascribed; though he has explicitly acquitted Mr. *Grenville* of it.

* On Sunday evening, April 14. His Royal Highness came to town on purpose.

into office. His project had failed in the year 1763, through his own cowardice. This year he resolved not to appear in the measure; perhaps he was still influenced by his fears, and therefore, the better to conceal himself, and to give greater weight to his design, his first care was to put the negotiation into the hands of the Duke of *Cumberland*, with some limitations. After his audience with the Duke, he and his brother appeared publicly at his Royal Highness's levee, more than once during the time the Regency Bill was in Parliament. These circumstances were not unknown to the Ministers, nor did they scruple to declare to their friends, That the King's confidence was not placed where it ought to be. Yet they did not refuse a necessary measure. But they were particularly blameable for admitting one part of it, which whoever advised gave bad advice: It was a proposition, for an unexampled encroachment on the inherent fundamental and essential rights of Parliament, and a dangerous precedent for an addition to the pretensions of the Crown, by entrusting to the *sole and secret* nomination of the Prince upon the throne, the appointment of the person to exercise the regal authority during a minority.

Mr. *Pitt* having declared in Parliament, that he would live and die with his brother (Lord

Temple) the confidential contrivers of this second project, to bring in Mr. *Pitt*, resolved to make the application to Lord *Temple*, with the hope of obtaining his favourable opinion, which was considered the most essential step towards gaining Mr. *Pitt*. Accordingly on the fifteenth of May, the Duke of *Cumberland* sent for Lord *Temple* from Stowe*. As soon as possible his Lordship waited on the Duke, who began by informing him, that the King had resolved to change his servants, and to engage his Lordship, Mr. *Pitt*, and their friends, in his service; but first he (the Duke) wished to know *their conditions*. Lord *Temple* most respectfully assured his Royal Highness that their conditions were not many. The making certain foreign alliances the restoration of officers (civil and military) cruelly and unjustly dismissed, a repeal of the Excise on Cyder, a total and full condemnation of General Warrants, and the seizure of papers. His Royal Highness perfectly approved of these conditions, and said they *must* be agreed to: and then added, that he had a proposition to make,—this was, That it was the King's desire that Lord *Northumberland* should be placed at the head of the Treasury. Lord *Temple* replied, “He would never come into office under Lord *Bute*'s Lieu-

* His Royal Highness also sent for Mr. *James Grenville* from Pinner.

“tenant*.” Here the conference broke off. This proposition having been made in the negotiation in the year 1763, when Lord *Bute* appeared openly in the measure, left no room to doubt of his Lordship being still the secret adviser of the King, and the secret mover of the present negociation.

On the nineteenth of the same month, which was Sunday, the Duke sent a message to Lord *Temple* requesting his Lordship to meet him at Mr. *Pitt*’s house, at Hayes, in Kent. The Duke was with Mr. *Pitt*, when his Lordship came in, and had made the same proposition respecting Lord *Northumberland*, which Mr. *Pitt* had refused, as totally inadmissible; upon the same principle, that the refusal had been made by Lord *Temple*; of which Mr. *Pitt* had not, until that moment, received the smallest intimation. He assured his Royal Highness, that he was ready to go to St. James’s, *if he could carry the Constitution along with him*;—that was his expression.

Next day, the Duke sent Lord *Frederick Cavendish* to Mr. *Pitt*, with an assurance that the proposition respecting Lord *Northumberland*, being at the head of the Treasury, was relinquished

* Lord *Northumberland* was at this time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

provided his Lordship was considered in some other way. Mr. *Pitt* returned the same answer he had given to his Royal Highness. Upon the return of Lord *Frederick*, the Duke offered the Treasury to Lord *Lyttelton*, who desired to consult Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Pitt*. The Duke was displeased with this answer, and immediately went to the King; and having informed his Majesty of the several answers he had received, concluded with advising the King to continue his present servants.

At the same time, Lord *Temple*, and his brother Mr. *Grenville*, became reconciled through the mediation of the friends of both parties; who declared that this reconciliation was no more than a family friendship as brothers; and on public principles, only as to measures in future.

It is in their influence on measures *in future*, that such circumstances become interesting to the nation. The reconciliation being made, Mr. *Grenville* unbosoming himself to his brother, related all the arts and clandestine steps of the Favourite; which, if possible, increased his brother's ardour on every subsequent occasion he had to oppose Lord *Bute*. Both the brothers now entertaining the same opinion, there could

be little probability of another separation between them; consequently, *in future*, it must be supposed they engaged to act, and to concert their measures together.

During the negociation with the Duke, Parliament had been kept sitting under an expectation of issuing writs for new elections; but that negociation having failed, the subsisting Ministers resolved to vindicate the independence of their situations, by asserting the due influence, which of right belonged to the responsibility of their offices, and to create a necessity of issuing writs very different from those which had been in expectation.

The decisive stroke of this contest, was the turning out Mr. *Mackenzie*, Lord *Bute*'s brother; which, they declared, they offered to the public as a mark, that the Councils and employments of the State were not separated, notwithstanding the late negociation. And this circumstance gave them a merit in their death, that most of them would never have acquired any other way.

There was no step they could have taken more personally offensive than this. And to it they added, the dismissal of Lord *Northumberland* and Mr. *Fox* who had been created Lord *Holland*.

As soon as these changes were made, Parliament was prorogued.

The King considered these three dismissions, but most particularly the first, as insults upon himself. Whether the opinion was spontaneously his own, or whether it was suggested to him, is not material. The language of the Favourite upon this occasion was—*What! do you mean to destroy the Monarchy?—to annihilate the first of the three Estates?*

In consequence of these open and avowed acts of hostility to the Favourite, a resolution was taken to open another negociation with Mr. *Pitt*. Lord *Bute* and the Duke having both failed, the King himself undertook this negociation. His Majesty sent for Mr. *Pitt*. He waited upon the King at the Queen's House, on the twentieth day of June 1765. The consequence of this audience was, the sending for Lord *Temple*. And on the 25th, they waited on his Majesty together at the Queen's House; when the following conditions were proposed to them.

1. Mr. *Stuart Mackenzie* to be restored.
2. Lord *Northumberland* to be Lord Chamberlain.

3. The King's Friends to continue in their present situations*.

To the two first conditions Mr. *Pitt* was not very averse. Respecting the last, he wished for some explanation. But Lord *Temple* declared against the whole. Upon which the conference ended.—Here it is proper to observe, that upon more mature consideration Mr. *Pitt* changed his sentiments on the two first conditions, and perfectly agreed with his brother.

The reader's judgment will anticipate any observations which can be made on these extraordinary occurrences; respecting either the humiliation of the King, who descended from his station to execute the project of his Favourite; or the superiority of Mr. *Pitt*, who resisted the entreaties of his Sovereign, when incompatible with the service of the public. These prominent features are so obvious from the plain statement of the facts, that no reader can feel the want of

* There were about thirty persons who arrogantly assumed this appellation. They affected to belong to no Minister—to maintain no connexion—to court no interest—to embrace no principle—to hold no opinion. They might more properly have been called the Household Troops, or Janizaries of the Court; because they supported, or opposed, the Official Ministers, according to the orders they received from the Favourite.

illustration. The future historian may indulge in observations and inferences, which the present writer dare not. And Truth may find an advocate in a future age, which the venality of the present refuses to endure.

The King's negociation having failed, the Duke of *Cumberland* was again applied to. His Majesty having resolved to part with his present servants at any rate*, his Royal Highness had full power

* It has been stated, that this resolution was taken in consequence of some expressions, which had fallen from the Duke of *Bedford* in his Majesty's closet. One writer says, "The Duke of *Bedford* continuing in such a behaviour as no private man could have suffered in any one of his inferiors, produced an instantaneous determination to get rid of such provocations at any rate." *Principles of the Changes in 1765*, page 45.

Another and more popular writer, says, "'The Ministry having endeavoured to exclude the Dowager out of the Regency Bill, the Earl of *Bute* determined to dismiss them. Upon this the Duke of *Bedford* demanded an audience of the , reproached in plain terms with duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy—repeatedly gave him the lie, and left him in convulsions." *Junius's Letters, the Author's own edition, printed by Woodfall*, volume I. page 171, the note.

And with respect to the particular dismissal of Mr. *Grenville*, another writer has given the following anecdote: "He had been so completely duped, that for some days after his dismissal, he had the vanity to believe the Court retained a partiality for him; but when he saw that Mr. *Charles Jenkinson*, (now Lord *Liverpool*) who he knew was the confidant of Lord *Bute*, and who he had formerly carried to the Duke of *Newcastle*, and which circumstance

to form an administration. The Duke of *Newcastle*, the Marquis of *Rockingham*, and their friends, thought it their duty to accept of his Royal Highness's invitation. General *Conway* was made Secretary of State, and to him was committed the management of the House of Commons.

was the foundation of all his rise, and for whom he had obtained a pension for writing a pamphlet on the seizure of the Dutch vessels in 1757, and who for that and other obligations, he thought would have followed him out of Court;—when he discovered that Mr. *Jenkinson* stayed behind, and that his credit was not diminished at either Carlton House or Buckingham House, Mr. *Grenville* then saw, what all the world knew before, that he had been the *dupe of Lord Bute's agent*—that the very man, who owed his original recommendation to him, was the very man who had betrayed him. Perhaps no gentleman ever felt the poignant sting of ingratitude so keenly as Mr. *Grenville* did upon that occasion."

CHAPTER XXIX.

New Ministry blamed for accepting.—Lord Bute's influence not diminished.—Their Apology.—The Burkes brought forward.—Mr Pitt's Speech and debate on the American Stamp act.—He compliments Mr. Burke.

MR. PITT did not entirely approve of the new Ministry's acceptance. And Lord Temple condemned them in terms of acrimony: he said, if they had followed the example of Mr. Pitt and himself, in refusing the allurements of office, the Favourite must have submitted to such conditions, as it might have been thought necessary to impose upon him; which certainly would have been an absolute and total exclusion of him and his friends from every situation and channel of secret communication with the Sovereign: there must have been an end of all those unhappy suggestions which had already distracted the kingdom, and menaced the introduction of further misfortunes. This might be called violent language, but it was founded in truth and experience; and although the new Ministry were not under the influence of the Favourite, yet his influence was not diminished; it might, perhaps,

be said to suffer a temporary abatement, or rather it was his own policy to suspend the exercise of it, until a more suitable opportunity occurred for making another display of his power and versatility.

The new Ministry had this apology fairly to offer.—Out of office they were inadequate to the performance of any service to their country; but in office they might accomplish something, though perhaps not so much as they wished; and undoubtedly they should prevent any increase, or aggravation of the public discontents.—These motives were laudable.—*Gradatim* was Mr. *Pitt's* own word in a former day.—They might reason justly, that in the present unhappy partiality of the King, the Constitutional exercise of the powers of Government were to be obtained by degrees, not by hazarding a violent convulsion of the State; to which point some of them feared Lord *Temple's* inflexibility might possibly extend.

When the new Ministers entered their offices, they found that many of their former subalterns were either dead, sequestered in retirement, or allied to the enemy: even the first Lord of the Treasury was at a loss for a private Secretary of competent talents. An accomplished *Commis* is

an inestimable character. Mr. *Fitzherbert*, of Tissington *, in Derbyshire, a gentleman of unexampled philanthropy, and most amiable manners, whose ambition was benevolence, and whose happiness consisted in the administration of kindness, recommended to his Lordship Mr. *Edmund Burke*. The British dominions did not at that time furnish a more able and fit person for that important and confidential situation. He is "the only man, since the age of Cicero, who has united the talents of speaking and writing, with irresistible force and elegance." At the same time, his cousin, Mr. *William Burke*, of equal diligence, penetration and integrity, was made Secretary to General *Conway*. There was no private interest courted or gratified by these appointments. The merit of the persons was their recommendation.

Parliament met on the seventeenth of December, in order to issue writs for the vacancies which had been made by the change of the Ministry, and then adjourned to the fourteenth of January 1766, for the dispatch of business. On this day the business was opened with a speech from the throne. On the usual motion for an address, the friends of the new Ministry spoke very tenderly of the disturbances raised

* Father of Lord *St. Hellens*.

in America, in opposition to the Stamp Act, terming them only *occurrences*; which gave great offence to the friends of the late Ministry, by whom that act had been passed.

Mr. *Pitt* was impatient to speak on this subject: therefore he rose in the early part of the debate. He began with saying, ‘I came to town but to-day;* I was a stranger to the tenor of his Majesty’s speech, and the proposed address, till I heard them read in this House. Unconnected and unconsulted, I have not the means of information; I am fearful of offending through mistake, and therefore beg to be indulged with a second reading of the proposed address. The address being read, Mr. *Pitt* went on: He commended the King’s speech, approved of the address in answer, as it decided nothing, every gentleman being left at perfect liberty to take such a part concerning America, as he might afterwards see fit. One word only he could not approve of, an *early*, is a word that does not belong to the notice the Ministry have

* This speech, together with the other speeches in this chapter were taken by Sir *Robert Dean Bart.* in which he was assisted by the Earl of *Charlemont*. A great number of the Gentlemen of Ireland felt themselves deeply interested in the Question of Right to tax America, and at that time shewed great anxiety upon the subject.

given to Parliament of the troubles in America. In a matter of such importance, the communication ought to have been immediate: I speak not with respect to parties; I stand up in this place single and unconnected. As to the late Ministry (turning himself to Mr. *Grenville*, who sat within one of him) every capital measure they have taken, has been entirely wrong!

‘As to the present gentlemen, to those at least whom I have in my eye (looking at the bench where Mr. *Conway* sat with the Lords of the Treasury), I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair; and I am always glad when men of fair character engage in his Majesty’s service. Some of them have done me the honour to ask my opinion before they would engage. These would do me the justice to own, I advised them to engage; but notwithstanding—I love to be explicit—I cannot give them my confidence; pardon me, gentlemen, (bowing to the Ministry) confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom: youth is the season of credulity; by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence.

‘ There is a clause in the act of settlement to oblige every Minister to sign his name to the advice which he gives to his Sovereign. Would it were observed!—I have had the honour to serve the Crown, and if I could have submitted to influence, I might have still continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments; it is indifferent to me, whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast, that I was the first Minister who looked for it, and I found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew it into your service, an hardy and intrepid race of men! men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world: detested be the national reflections against them!—they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly.—When I ceased to serve his Majesty as a minister, it was not the *country* of the man by which I was moved—but *the man* of that country wanted *wisdom*, and held principles incompatible with *freedom*.

‘It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken in this House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have born my testimony against it! It is now an act that has passed—I would speak with decency of every act of this House, but I must beg the indulgence of the House to speak of it with freedom.

‘I hope a day may be soon appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America—I hope gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality that his Majesty recommends and the importance of the subject requires. A subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this House! that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question, whether you yourselves were to be bound or free. In the mean time, as I cannot depend upon my health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to say a few words at present, leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the act, to another

time. I will only speak to one point, a point which seems not to have been generally understood—I mean to the right. Some gentlemen (alluding to Mr. *Nugent*) seem to have considered it as a point of *honour*. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong, to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion, that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever.—They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen. Equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power.—The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the Peers and the Crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with a form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days, the Crown, the Barons, and the Clergy, possessed the lands.

In those days, the Barons and the Clergy gave and granted to the Crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land: The Church (God bless it) has but a pittance. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this House represents those Commons, the proprietors of the lands; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We your Majesty's Commons for Great Britain give and grant to your Majesty, what? Our own property?—No. We give and grant to your Majesty, the property of your Majesty's Commons of America.—It is an absurdity in terms.

‘The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The Crown, the Peers, are equally legislative powers with the Commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the Crown, the Peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves: rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by *power*.

‘ There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in the House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county, in this kingdom? *Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number!* Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough which perhaps its own representatives never saw?—This is what is called *the rotten part of the constitution*.—It cannot continue a century.—If it does not drop, it must be amputated.—The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man—It does not deserve a serious refutation.

‘ The Commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations, and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in every thing,

except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

‘Here I would draw the line,

“*Quam ultra citraque neque consistere rectum.*”

He concluded with a familiar voice and tone, but so low that it was not easy to distinguish what he said. A considerable pause ensued after Mr. *Pitt* had done speaking.

Mr. *Conway* at length got up. He said, ‘He had been waiting to see whether any answer would be given to what had been advanced by the right hon. gentleman, reserving himself for the reply: but as none had been given, he had only to declare, that his own sentiments were entirely conformable to those of the right honourable gentleman.—That they are so conformable, he said, is a circumstance that affects me with the most sensible pleasure, and does me the greatest honour. But two things fell from that Gentleman, which give me pain, as, whatever falls from that gentleman, falls from so great a height as to make a deep impression.—I must endeavour to remove it.—It was objected, that the notice given to Parliament of the troubles in America was not early. I can assure the

House, the first accounts were too vague and imperfect to be worth the notice of Parliament. It is only of late that they have been precise and full. An over-ruling influence has also been hinted at. I see nothing of it—I feel nothing of it—I disclaim it for myself, and (as far as my discernment can reach), for all the rest of his Majesty's ministers.'

Mr. *Pitt* said, in answer to Mr. *Conway*, 'The excuse is a valid one, if it is a just one. That must appear from the papers now before the House.'

Mr. *Grenville* next stood up. He began with censuring the ministry very severely, for delaying to give earlier notice to Parliament of the disturbances in America. He said, 'They began in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrines I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name, to take that of revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and only differ in name. That

this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied ; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been exercised over those who are not, who were never represented. It is exercised over the India Company, the merchants of London, the proprietors of the stocks, and over many great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the palatine of Chester, and the bishopric of Durham, before they sent any representatives to Parliament. I appeal, for proof, to the preambles of the acts which gave them representatives ; the one in the reign of *Henry VIII.* the other in that of *Charles II.* Mr. *Grenville* then quoted the acts, and desired that they might be read : which being done, he said : ‘ When I proposed to tax America, I asked the House if any gentleman would object to the right ; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America ; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated ? — When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run herself into an immense debt to give them

their protection ; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expence, an expence arising from themselves ; they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this House. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition. We were told we trod on tender ground ; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence ? Let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America ! Bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honour of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed in their favour, the act of navigation, that palladium of the British commerce ; and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel, by which alone North America used to be supplied

with cash for remittances to this country. I defy any man to produce any such orders or instructions. I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by an act of Parliament. I desire a West India merchant, well known in the city (Mr. *Long*), a gentleman of character, may be examined. He will tell you, that I offered to do every thing in my power to advance the trade of America. I was above giving an answer to anonymous calumnies; but in this place, it becomes one to wipe off the aspersion.'

Here Mr. *Grenville* ceased. Several Members got up to speak, but Mr. *Pitt* seeming to rise, the House was so clamorous for Mr. *Pitt*! Mr. *Pitt*! that the Speaker was obliged to call to order.

After obtaining a little quiet, he said, Mr. *Pitt* was up; who began with informing the House, 'That he did not mean to have gone any further into the subject that day; that he had only designed to have thrown out a few hints, which gentlemen, who were so confident of the right of this kingdom to send taxes to America, might consider; might perhaps reflect, in a cooler moment, that the right was at least equivocal. But since the gentleman, who spoke last, had not

stopped on that ground, but had gone into the whole, into the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the stamp act, as well as into the right, he would follow him through the whole field, and combat his arguments on every point.'

He was going on, when Lord *Strange* got up, and called both gentlemen, Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Grenville*, to order. He said, 'They had both departed from the matter before the House, which was the King's speech; and that Mr. *Pitt* was going to speak twice in the same debate, although the House was not in a committee.'

Mr. *George Onslow* (now Lord *Onslow*) answered, 'That they were both in order, as nothing had been said, but what was fairly deducible from the King's speech; and appealed to the Speaker.' The Speaker decided in Mr. *Onslow*'s favour.

Mr. *Pitt* said, 'I do not apprehend I am speaking twice: I did expressly reserve a part of my subject, in order to save the time of this House, but I am compelled to proceed in it; I do not speak twice; I only finish what I designedly left imperfect. But if the House is of a

different opinion, far be it from me to indulge a wish of transgression against order. I am content, if it be your pleasure to be silent.'—Here he paused—The House resounding with *Go on! go on!* he proceeded:

‘Gentlemen, Sir (to the Speaker), I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this House imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us, America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. I come not here armed at all points, with law cases and acts of Parliament, with the statute-book doubled down in dog’s-ears, to defend the cause of liberty: if I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham. I would have cited them,

to have shewn that, even under former arbitrary reigns, Parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives. Why did the gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham; he might have taken an higher example in Wales; Wales that never was taxed by Parliament till it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentleman. I know his abilities. I have been obliged to his diligent researches. But, for the defence of liberty, upon a general principle, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground on which I stand firm, on which I dare meet any man. The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed, and are not represented.—The India Company, merchants, stockholders, manufacturers. Surely many of these are represented in other capacities, as owners of land, or as freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune that more are not equally represented. But they are all inhabitants, and as such, are they not virtually represented? Many have it in their option to be actually represented. They have connections with those that elect, and they have influence over them. The gentleman mentioned the stockholders: I hope he does not reckon the debts of the nation as a part of the national estate. Since the accession of King *William*, many ministers, some of

great, others of more moderate abilities, have taken the lead of government.'

He then went through the list of them, bringing it down till he came to himself, giving a short sketch of the characters of each of them.

'None of these (he said), thought, or even dreamed, of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. That was reserved to mark the æra of the late administration: Not that there were wanting some, when I had the honour to serve his Majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American stamp act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous and unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America! Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America—I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain, that the Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries

are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

3, 272 If the gentleman does not understand the difference between external and internal taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter.

The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know, when they were made slaves? But I dwell not upon words. When I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I availed myself of the means of information, which I derived from my office: I speak, therefore, from knowledge. My materials were good, I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that

were rented at two thousand pounds a year, threescore years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchase; the same may now be sold for thirty. You owe this to America. This is the price America pays for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can bring a pepper-corn into the Exchequer, to the loss of millions to the nation! I dare not say, how much higher these profits may be augmented. Omitting the immense increase of people by natural population, in the northern colonies, and the emigration from every part of Europe, I am convinced the commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged, and encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper restraints have been laid on the continent, in favour of the islands. You have but two nations to trade with in America. Would you had twenty! Let acts of Parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong, much may be amended for the general good of the whole.

‘Does the gentleman complain he has been

misrepresented in the public prints? It is a common misfortune. In the Spanish affair of last war, I was abused in all the news-papers, for having advised his Majesty to violate the law of nations with regard to Spain. The abuse was industriously circulated even in hand-bills. If administration did not propagate the abuse, *administration never contradicted it*. I will not say what advice I did give to the King. My advice is in writing, signed by myself, in the possession of the crown. But I will say, what advice I did not give to the King: I did not advise him to violate any of the laws of nations.

‘As to the report of the gentleman’s preventing in some way the trade for bullion with the Spaniards, it was spoken of so confidently, that I own, I am one of those who did believe it to be true.

‘The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as the Minister, he asserts the right of Parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this House, which does not chuse to contradict a minister. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. Even that chair, Sir, sometimes looks towards St. James’s. If they do not, perhaps, the collective body may begin to abate

of its respect for the representative. Lord *Bacon* had told me, that a great question would not fail of being agitated at one time or another. I was willing to agitate that at the proper season; the German war, my German war, they called it. Every sessions I called out, Has any body any objections to the German war? Nobody would object to it, one gentleman only excepted, since removed to the Upper House, by succession to an ancient barony, (meaning Lord *Le Despencer*, formerly Sir *Francis Dashwood*;) he told me, "he did not like a German war." I honoured the man for it, and was sorry when he was turned out of his post.

' A great deal has been said without doors, of the power, of the strength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America, out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the Stamp Act, when so many here will think it a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

‘ In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheath the sword in its scabbard, but to sheath it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves now, the whole House of Bourbon is united against you? While France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave-trade to Africa, and withholds from your subjects in Canada, their property stipulated by treaty; while the ransom for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer, a gentleman (Colonel *Draper*) whose noble and generous spirit would do honour to the proudest grandee of the country. The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. The Americans have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America, that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of *Prior’s*, of a man’s behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you, and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:

Be to her faults a little blind:

Be to her virtues very kind.

‘ Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be *repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately*. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their *trade*, confine their *manufactures*, and exercise every *power* whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.’

In the course of this debate, Mr. *Burke* made his first speech in Parliament; and Mr. *Pitt* complimented him upon it, in terms peculiarly flattering to a young man.

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